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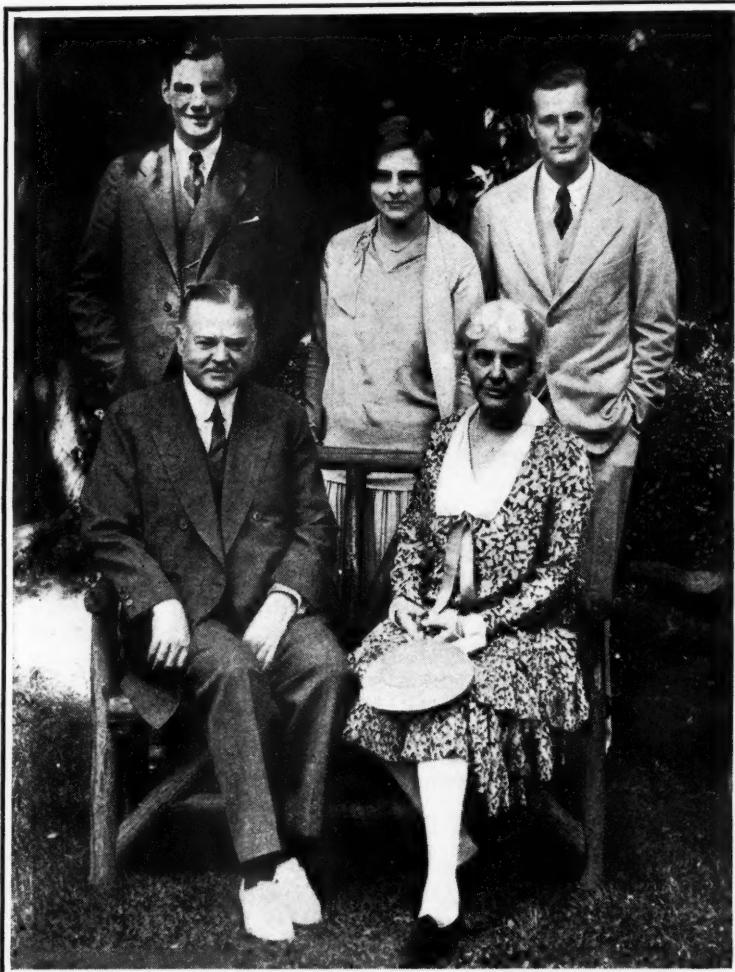
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HERBERT HOOVER AND HIS FAMILY

Seated with Mr. Hoover is Mrs. Hoover, and behind them stand (left to right) Herbert Hoover, Jr., Mrs. Herbert Hoover, Jr., and Allan Hoover. Most of the time between the national election on November 6 last and his inauguration as President of the United States on March 4 Mr. Hoover will spend on a good-will tour of Central and South America. He selected the U.S.S. *Maryland*, a battleship, for the trip, which is taking him to the Panama Canal, and thence down the Pacific coast of South America to Chile, with stops at various countries on the way. At Valparaiso, Chile, will begin a train journey across the high Andes Mountains into Argentina, where the northward voyage toward the United States and his term as President will begin. Mrs. Hoover and his son Allan are accompanying Mr. Hoover, who is expected to return to this country some time in January.

The American Review of Reviews

December, 1928

The Progress of the World

BY ALBERT SHAW

*The Sober
Second
Thought*

If events and conditions of the year 1928, now drawing near its close, should seem to have justified for Americans a positive note of satisfaction—such as that which was resounding in November, culminating in the festival of Thanksgiving Day—there is all the more reason for sober-mindedness. Backward glances over the record should find us in a state of mind as free as possible from boastfulness or reckless optimism. As we study the general course of affairs in the United States, the situation seems, indeed, highly reassuring. And we may pause now and then to take fresh courage, and to relax a little after protracted effort. But the burden of responsibility must be taken up again; for the problems of the future must be faced with no lessening of our sense of anxious care. We shall need as skilful piloting as ever before; and the new pilot will need intelligent and loyal support.

*Coolidge
Still at
the Helm*

Mr. Coolidge's administration has not been one of indolent drifting. Rather it has manifested untiring industry, with the constant, well-poised effort to treat domestic and foreign issues with sound judgment, in a spirit of good-will. After the election of November 6, there remained four full months of President Coolidge's official term, and these four months include a three months' session of Congress. Having spent more than four months in a presidential campaign that held first place in the minds

of the people, we must now give major attention to issues of public policy as centering at Washington under the leadership of President Coolidge. In subsequent paragraphs we shall not forget to summarize the results of the national election, and to comment upon the Republican victory at the polls.

*The Hoover
Victory*

But there is little to be said that can throw additional light upon that subject. Things happened in localities. Only the voters themselves know why they did one thing rather than another. American presidential elections are not understood at all in Europe, because they are indirect in method, and extremely complicated. On November 6 we were voting in our respective States for forty-eight groups of presidential electors. Technically, the President is yet to be chosen by these electors. We know, however, that 444 of them will vote for Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis to fill the offices of President and Vice-President. And we know that only 87 will vote for Alfred E. Smith and Senator Joseph T. Robinson. We may regard it as fortunate, though merely a coincidence, that the aggregate popular vote is in keeping with the results shown in the returns made by the presidential electors. But the popular vote has no conclusive bearings, either way. Our method of electing the President takes us back to the time when we were not a homogeneous nation, but a confederacy of sovereign States.

*Methods
and
Results*

The Electoral College recognizes the equality of States, just as does the United States Senate, to the extent of allowing each State two electors regardless of population. Otherwise the quota of each State in the Electoral College equals its membership in the House of Representatives. With 531 electoral votes under the present apportionment, only 435 may be said to represent the American people, while 96, or almost one-fifth of the whole number, represent States as such. But even the 435, being chosen on State-wide tickets, might in electoral results fail to agree closely with the aggregate popular vote. The outcome, in short, depends not upon majorities, but rather upon the distribution of pluralities. As it happened, Governor Smith loses the entire forty-five electoral votes of his own State of New York; whereas, if electors had been chosen singly, like Congressmen in Congressional districts, the forty-three districts would have been almost evenly divided, with Smith having the advantage (the new Congressional delegation as elected last month having twenty Republicans and twenty-three Democrats). If aggregate popular voting had determined results, the State of New York would have been relatively unimportant. Each of sixteen other States contributed more to Mr. Hoover's popular majority than did the State of New York.

*Popular
Majorities*

Many people in times past have advocated the scrapping of existing machinery and the election of the President on election day, in November, by a simple plurality of the entire vote of the nation. This would involve changes too profound in their bearings to be justified without careful study and deliberate discussion. Taking the popular pluralities for Hoover this year in the forty States that he carried, we find that they aggregated nearly six millions. Smith carried South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana sweepingly, and he carried Arkansas, Mr. Robinson's home State, substantially. He carried Alabama and Georgia rather narrowly. In New England he was victorious in Massachusetts and Rhode Island by a close margin. The sum total of his eight pluralities is less than 300,000 votes, while Hoover's pluralities, as we have shown, are more than twenty times greater. Pennsylvania alone gave Hoover much more than three times the aggregate of

Smith's excess votes in all of the eight States that he carried. The Ohio majority for Hoover, also, is much more than twice the total of all of the Smith majorities. A slight change in the vote of New York would have added forty-five electoral votes to the Smith column. Changes elsewhere might conceivably have elected Smith under our present plan, while leaving Hoover with the clear majority of popular votes, supposing that he had kept his actual majorities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, California, Indiana and New Jersey.

*Election
by Districts
Preferable*

Not to continue these comparisons, it is enough to say that the only change worth considering in the near future would be the substitution of the plan of choosing presidential electors singly, in Congressional districts, rather than on State-wide tickets. The choice by districts would give a better distribution of what are now the State majorities. Such a plan, this year, would have helped Smith in the State of New York, but would have left Hoover with a very substantial majority in the Electoral College. As it happened, the Hoover pluralities were very much larger than the Smith pluralities. Thus, Hoover's average plurality in his forty States was about 150,000, while Smith's average plurality in his eight States was only a quarter as much per State, namely, about 37,500. To put it in a different way, the Hoover pluralities averaged about 13,500 for each one of the 444 Republican electoral votes, while the Smith pluralities averaged only 3,400 for each one of the eighty-seven Democratic electoral votes.

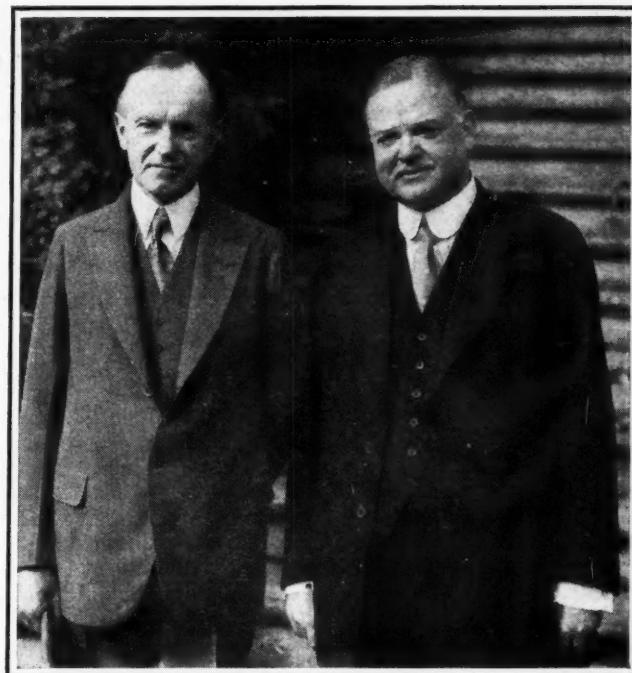
*The Coolidge
Administration
Sustained*

From the standpoint of the Republican party and the Coolidge Administration, the election was an appeal to the country for a vote of confidence. The attempt of Governor Smith and of the managers of the Democratic campaign was to show that the Administration and the party now in power had failed to meet reasonable expectations, and were not deserving of continued support. But further than that, the Democrats had to convince the country that their party was the better of the two. This would have been an exceedingly difficult task, even if the Democratic party had been conspicuously harmonious as regards its platform, and unanimous and enthusiastic

in its following of Governor Smith as its spokesman and leader. As it turned out, the Republicans were far better united than the Democrats; and the verdict was an endorsement of the Coolidge Administration that was even more emphatic than that which the country had given in 1924. A party in power must be seriously open to attack if it is to fall before the siege-guns of an opposition that is not united and coöperative in its strategy, or almost fanatical in the faith it reposes in a personal leader.

Coolidge's Mantle Well Bestowed There had been a demand even wider than the Republican party that President Coolidge should run for another term. His refusal to run afforded a typical instance of that firm judgment and unfailing common sense, the belief in which had made so many politicians and voters wish that he might be his own successor. Mr. Hughes also refused to be a candidate, although his choice would have been widely popular, and would have found Mr. Hoover heartily supporting it. Vice-President Dawes and former Governor Lowden were shining lights in the party, but neither of them was in the same favorable position as Mr. Hoover to carry on the prestige of the Republican Administration. Public opinion within the party had been well tested before the Kansas City Convention met; and Mr. Hoover's nomination on the first ballot was accepted with good will throughout the party, and was increasingly justified as the campaign progressed, and as it reached its culmination in the victory of November 6. Seldom has a party been so effective.

A Striking Personality Nothing could be further from the truth than to regard Mr. Hoover as an understudy, regretfully substituted by the country for President Coolidge. The President-elect is a striking personality, whose wide experi-



THE PRESIDENT AND HIS SUCCESSOR

Photographed at the White House during the week before Election Day. A few days later Mr. Coolidge formally endorsed Mr. Hoover's candidacy.

ence, remarkable qualifications, and demonstrated achievements have aroused the interest of his own admiring fellow citizens, while claiming the attention of the entire world. It was admitted everywhere that the election presented alternatives of an unusual kind, and that in either case we were likely to have a President who would show himself courageous enough to attempt important things. The country is to be congratulated on this, as well as on the fact that the winner found his early political strength in his popularity with independent voters rather than with politicians. But while Mr. Hoover comes to the front in his own right, and with an almost embarrassing amount of fame and glory already ascribed and conceded, the result by no means obscures or belittles President Coolidge.

A Worthy Helmsman on Duty This steadfast New Englander has been the head of his own Administration. He has stood with Secretaries Hughes and Kellogg in the successful conduct of a more diversified range of international business than has ever before devolved upon our government

in times of peace. He has coöperated with Secretary Mellon and the budgetary officials in their admired management of the national finances. He has kept in close relationship with Secretary Hoover, under whose guiding genius the domestic and foreign commerce of the United States has gone forward more rapidly and more advantageously than in any previous period of our history. He has worked cordially with Postmaster-General New, with Secretary Work of the Interior Department, and with Secretary Davis of the Department of Labor, in the varied and extensive activities of the bureaus and services that are included in their great departments. He has shown understanding and wisdom in his attitude toward the problems of national defense, and has coöperated steadily with the civilian and professional heads of the Army and Navy. He has endeavored, through the Department of Justice, to enforce the laws; and upon this point the country has been so well satisfied that all attempts to make partisan use of the oil scandals, or of defects and difficulties in Prohibition enforcement, have wholly failed to hurt the prestige of Mr. Coolidge, or to tarnish the reputation of any present or very recent member of the Administration.

Remarkable Endorsement of Coolidge

If the election had brought sweeping Democratic victory, Mr. Coolidge might well have suffered some loss of influence in what remains of his term. Or, if the Hoover victory had been gained by a scant margin, Coolidge stock might have suffered some decline. But with results as they are, the President is entitled to feel that the verdict is overwhelmingly in his favor. Many things that he had said and done were subjects of controversy in the campaign. Regarding the Peace Pact, there was on one side a tendency to slur and disparage it, but it was strongly endorsed by the country. Policies in the western hemisphere, including Nicaragua and Mexico, were emphatically sustained. The President may feel that his course in the Naval Conference is upheld here at home. In the wheat and corn belt, the opinion now prevails that Mr. Coolidge's objections to certain provisions of the Farm Relief Bill were in no spirit of unfriendliness toward agriculture. What the farmers of the West see more clearly is that to some extent we must feel our way, and that half a loaf is better than no bread.

In the next Congress there will be increased Republican majorities; but the most important legislation will have to turn upon non-partisan intelligence and patriotism, rather than upon action along narrow party lines.

He Will Retire with Honor

The President in his forthcoming December message will ask the Senate to ratify the Kellogg Pact that was signed at Paris. He will cordially promote the work of the Pan-American Arbitration Conference soon to assemble at Washington. He will ask Congress to support the well-considered naval program that calls for a certain number of new cruisers. He will doubtless encourage Congress to adopt at least those parts of a program of agricultural relief upon which the administration and the great majority of members of both Houses have hitherto been in agreement. He may persuade the present Congress to leave to the next Administration and to the newly-elected Congress certain further steps in the rounding out of an agricultural policy about which there are present differences and that may require further consideration. Mr. Coolidge, in his remaining months of office, will stage no anti-climax. There are definite things that he would like to see accomplished before the 4th of March, but in any case we know that he will retire from his office with all the honor and credit that he enjoyed when he was reelected in 1924. He and Mrs. Coolidge have borne themselves so consistently in the White House, and with such discretion, as to have earned the deep respect and regard in which they are held in every nook and corner of this great Republic.

In the World's Estimation

We know also, that this same great confidence and esteem are felt throughout the western hemisphere, from Ottawa on the north to Buenos Aires and Valparaiso in the south. It is no slight or casual thing, moreover, that in Japan and China, and throughout all the lands of Central and Eastern Europe and Western Asia, there are to be found the same sentiments of profound regard for the present head of the government of the United States. For some time past there have seemed to be no standards of impartial opinion, and no clarity of discernment, in the political and journalistic centers of London and Paris, and in certain peculiar



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THE PRESIDENT ON ARMISTICE DAY LAYS A WREATH ON THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER IN THE ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

circles that are more or less dominant at Geneva. But even in Great Britain and Western Europe there are some lucid intervals when foggy mentality seems to function normally, and when governing cliques find themselves impelled to do justice to the policies of the United States. Mr. Kellogg's criticism of the new Anglo-French military and naval entente, in his note of September 28, was apparently regarded as conclusive in European circles, and it is the daily custom in the British press to declare that this arrangement is already dead and buried. But it is equally the daily custom in British governing circles to explain it, defend it, and allude to it as a thing finally accomplished and beyond call or modification. In these high quarters, and in the newspapers that support Tory policies, President Coolidge's Armistice Day speech has aroused resentment. The undercurrent of hostility to this country, on the part of governments whose present position in the world is wholly due to the generous intervention of the United States, is passing strange.

The President's President Coolidge, it may be said, is better informed to-day about world conditions, and also about public opinion in various countries, than is any statesman in Europe. His speech on November 11, at Washington, commemorating the tenth

anniversary of the World War Armistice, was addressed only incidentally to the local audience. Like Washington's "Farewell Address," it was in reality a permanent and broadly significant utterance, to be heard at large, and read at leisure. In the morning of Armistice Day he had gone to the Arlington Cemetery and placed a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. In the evening, under the auspices of the American Legion, he made the address to his "fellow-countrymen" who listened by millions, thanks to nation-wide radio connections. In this speech are to be found the mature opinions of the President upon questions of national defense, and of international obligations and relationships. Most Americans of well-balanced judgment and of a sufficient range of information, will have approved thoroughly of Mr. Coolidge's statements and views. In Europe, on the other hand, there has been some pained surprise that an American President should have the audacity to defend the position of his own country, or to intimate that among honorable nations there should be mutuality of duties and obligations.

Reverting to War Conditions His tributes to the American Army and the American Navy in the Great War were deserved and well-expressed. "Our resources," he remarks, "delivered Europe from starvation and ruin. In the final

treaty of peace, not only was the map of Europe remade, but the enormous colonial possessions of Germany were divided up among certain allied nations. Such private property of her nationals as they held was applied to the claims for reparation. We neither sought nor took any of the former German possessions. We have provided by law for returning the private property of her nationals." He declares that nothing could be further from the truth than the assertion that we made profit out of the war. He finds that up to the present time "our own net war costs, after allowing for our foreign debt expectations, are about \$36,500,000,000." With the continuing costs of the Veterans' Bureau and like charges, the President says that "it is probable that our final cost will run well toward \$100,000,000,000, or half the entire wealth of the country when we entered the conflict." He sums up that phase of his address by saying that "no citizen of the United States needs to make any apology to anybody anywhere for not having done our duty in advancing the cause of world liberty."

Looking to a Future of Peace The President further sums up his allusions to the war of peace with the following dictum: "No good thing ever came out of war that could not better have been secured by reason and conscience." Discussing the maintenance of peace he declares that "the eternal questions before the nations are how to prevent war and how to defend themselves if it comes." He believes that preparation for defense is necessary, while at the same time he holds strongly to the value of the upbuilding of safeguards and securities for peace by treaties and by plans for the substitution of legal remedies. He recounts efforts that have been made for naval reduction, and which of late have been blocked by the British determination to maintain supremacy on the high seas. He finds that we do not need a large army, and that our present regular force is adequate as supplemented by the national guard. But he points out the need of an efficient navy for the defense of our coasts and the protection of our varied interests, including the Panama Canal. He reviews the extent to which we have furnished money to finance Europe's economic recovery, and sees no further reason for solicitude in that direction.

Hopeful Conclusions

He finds that "Europe, on the whole, has arrived at a state of financial stability and prosperity where it can not be said we are called on to help or act much beyond a strict business basis." England and France are now loaning money abroad, while also "both are making very large outlays for military purposes." No President has ever been more frank in explaining the anti-imperialistic motives that underlie American policies. "We want limitation of arms for the welfare of humanity." He ends with paragraphs that are by no means pessimistic. He believes that human freedom has been greatly extended throughout the world in the past ten years, and thus that "we should by no means be discouraged because practice lags behind principle. We make progress slowly and over a course which can tolerate no open spaces. It is a long distance from a world that walks by force to a world that walks by faith."

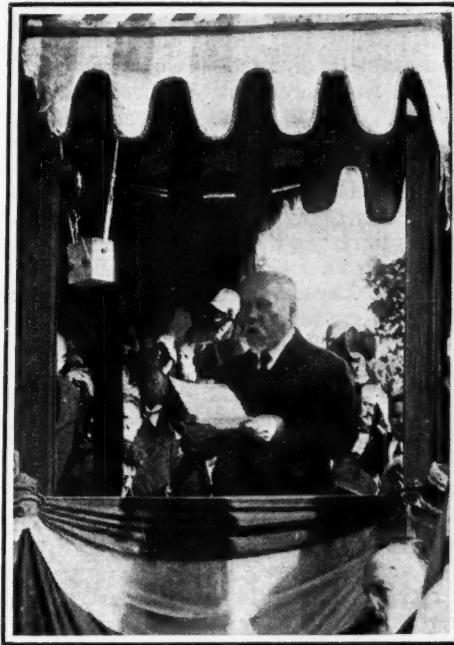
Sea-Power Not to Be Monopolized

On first thought it would seem curious that American views and policies are so little understood in England, the one country where they ought to be most fully appreciated. There is British praise for America when this country with its resources can be counted, to all intents and purposes, as an asset for the British empire. But an equal America is inconceivable to the mind of a "die-hard" Tory. Most Englishmen who have become acquainted with the United States, through frequent visits or a considerable sojourn here, believe in the genuineness of American friendship for the British people, and in the enthusiasm of the American nation for world peace and harmony. It is not merely to safeguard American political and economic interests in the world that Mr. Coolidge supports the pending naval program. It is also because the claims of justice and of peace demand the prevalence of sound views regarding sea power. However great may be the criticism in Europe of the French views of land defenses, there is much to be said for the French position. If the Canadians felt themselves in any danger whatever from the United States, there could be no just criticism of them if, in their schools and otherwise, they gave every Canadian boy a preliminary military training, and also taught every girl how to take her part be-

hind the fighting lines in defense of the liberties of Canada.

*France
and Her
Defenses*

No such fear exists, because there is not even a lurking shadow of desire anywhere in the United States to deal unjustly or unfairly with the self-governing peoples of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia—of the Dominion in its entirety, or in its parts. France just now announces the virtual completion of the great work of rebuilding the devastated zone. It is only ten years since the most formidable fighting army in the history of the world was driven back from its occupation of a considerable part of France, after losses of life that can not be forgotten in the celebration of the tenth recurrence of the Armistice anniversary. The French people want no more war; but with their present feeling they will train their sons for defense. They must gradually build up with their neighbors the same kind of confidence and respect on both sides that is felt between Canada and the United States. We are making this sentiment prevail between the United States and Mexico, in spite of past misunderstandings. Between neighboring countries in Latin America there are no lingering fears. France and her neighbor must become firm friends. Otherwise, nothing can prevent the Germans, after a period of years, from the employment of new scientific methods by means of which to regain the same freedom of action in policies of defense that is now enjoyed by Great Britain, France and Italy. The one remedy in the long run for the ills of Europe is the upbuilding of mutual confidence, and the establishment of such institutions for the keeping of peace as may require something like an economic and political federation of the European peoples. Meanwhile, France has sound reasons for her military policies. Referring to the Franco-British proposals recently made to our government Mr. Coolidge says: "The United States, of course, refused to accept this offer. Had we done so the French Army and the English Navy would be so near unlimited that the principle of limitations would be virtually abandoned." It is not that we are concerned in this country about the French Army; the only point upon which we have reasons to criticize the British arrangements with France relates to the subject of naval expansion.



RAYMOND POINCARÉ, PREMIER OF FRANCE

Though forced to resign on November 5 by the withdrawal of radical socialist support, M. Poincaré was prevailed upon a week later to form a new ministry with its parliamentary majority reduced materially.

*Navies
Are
Trespassers*

But the question of navies is one that rests upon a totally different basis from that of armies. Fundamentally, all navies except in coastal waters are trespassing on the common domain. The idea that any single nation may assert supremacy on the oceans that are the public highways of mankind for intercourse and commerce, simply because it has seized opportunities to reduce various parts of the earth to the status of dependency, is repugnant to every principle that underlies present-day efforts to secure a reign of peace and of law. It might perhaps have been a wiser policy, in the long run, if the United States had not abandoned, in the Washington Conference, the position of naval leadership that President Wilson had advised, and that we had already gone far toward putting into effect. After the Great War we owed something to ourselves and to the world at large. When the German fleet was sunk, with no plans for the control of the high seas by international agreement, no other Government was so well-fitted as our own to assume a moral mandate to supervise the enforce-

ment of maritime international law. We scrapped our battleship program, on the full understanding that the old doctrine of British naval supremacy was forever abandoned. But plans that were accepted in principle were not adopted in detail. Turning away from certain types of warships to others better adapted to serve present aims and policies, the British naval policy continues to be one that claims inordinate advantages as a prescriptive right. President Coolidge insisted upon holding back our cruiser program as long as possible. He now supports it for reasons of sound judgment, and Congress will agree with him.

Secretary Kellogg on the Peace Pact We are publishing in this number the address made by Secretary Kellogg in New York on Armistice Day, explaining the character of the Treaty signed by fifteen nations—and now accepted by fifty-eight Governments—condemning recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renouncing it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. It had been previously arranged with the Secretary that the address should be published in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and our readers will find the text complete and accurate. No other agreement by governments representing their respective peoples has ever been so deliberately expressive of public opinion, ascertained through many months of discussion. Mr. Kellogg's own part in this transaction has always been kept by him as far in the background as possible. His purpose in appearing before the World Alliance for International Friendship in the Metropolitan Opera House at New York was not to receive praise for something that he had accomplished, but to give to the country a full statement of the facts, and to explain the nature and significance of a treaty that concerns every family in the land.

Politics above Party Difference The speech was broadcast throughout this and other countries, and was printed in whole or in part by newspapers on the following day. But we are presenting it in more permanent and convenient form, in order that it may be at hand for our readers when its ratification is taken up in the Senate. Also, we are making it available for students in high schools and colleges, who endeavor to follow the trend of events hav-

ing a large and permanent relation to the course of history. No subject is better worthy of study by American institutions, or of discussion in homes during the month of December than the Treaty Outlawing War. Also we have pleasure in publishing a timely character sketch of the career of our distinguished Secretary of State, at the moment when his official undertakings are at the very climax of their importance. He presides at Washington over the meetings of the Pan-American Union; and he is now concerned with the Conference opening December 10, at Washington, of all the western-hemisphere republics, for the purpose of completing treaties of arbitration and conciliation. In the negotiations that preceded the adoption of the so-called Kellogg Treaty, the Secretary consulted constantly the leading men of both parties in the Senate, as well as other high authorities. The previous advice and support of such Democratic Senators as Mr. Swanson of Virginia, Mr. Walsh of Montana, and others of the Foreign Relations Committee, as well as the Republican members, including, of course, Chairman Borah, would seem to have given an unusual degree of assurance to the hope that the Treaty may be unanimously ratified.

Mr. Hoover Visits the Neighbors No American President-elect ever exhibited better judgment than was shown by Mr. Hoover in his plan to visit our Latin-American neighbors. He had come through the campaign with no evidence of mental or physical exhaustion, and without the faintest sign of a desire to pose as victor in a contest. As a plain matter of fact, a great part of the American people wanted to make Mr. Hoover President in 1920. Like thousands of other men, he had worked through the war period in a spirit so free from partisanship that he was hardly adjusted to the political preliminaries of our election system. The Republican party in California had not yet adopted him as a candidate, although the State was proud of him as a citizen known throughout the world. Although not in the forefront at Chicago, where General Wood, Governor Lowden and Senator Harding were candidates, he was in the first rank of men desirable for Cabinet service. His eight years of extraordinary achievement at Washington in Republican Cabinets had given him the party standing that was requisite for



Photograph by Bachrach

**HON. HERBERT HOOVER, ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
ON NOVEMBER 6**

convention purposes. Also, California conditions had changed. Senator Hiram Johnson had laid aside his own ambitions in favor of Mr. Hoover. In his election he reaped the benefit of the confidence felt in the Coolidge Administration. Above all, however, he discovered that the personal prestige which had begun with his relief work abroad in 1914 had been growing with the added evidences of his fitness and capacity. It is characteristic of his mind and his method that he should at once proceed to use his time to advantage, in order to be the better qualified for his future duties.

Touring Latin America In past years Mr. Hoover has had a wide experience in Europe and in Asia. He has gone to seek first-hand contacts in the coun-

tries of our own hemisphere. For three months he is his own master; but after the fourth of March he becomes once more a public servant. He had been visiting different parts of the United States during the campaign. He now undertakes a mission of good-will to the capitals of American republics, not for praise or vainglory, but to emphasize the genuineness of American friendship, while learning all sorts of up-to-date things that he believes it worth-while to know. Leaving his California home at Palo Alto, it was his plan to sail on the battleship *Maryland* from San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, on Monday, November 19, making a stop at Panama to inspect the Canal. He was then to proceed down the West Coast of South America, and after a somewhat elastic program of stops and visits



THE "BIG THREE" IN MEXICO

At the left is the retiring President, Calles. In the center is the American Ambassador, Mr. Dwight Morrow. At the right is Emilio Portes Gil, chosen by the Mexican Congress to serve as provisional President until February, 1930, in place of the assassinated Obregon.

to cross by rail from Chile to Argentina, returning, after a Brazilian visit, to make further pauses in Mexico, Central America and the West Indies.

Welcomes Await the Traveler It would be hard to imagine a more fortunate time for such a journey on the part of our next President. In Mexico he will have an especially hearty welcome. He is already conversant—as an eminent engineer and as our recent Secretary of Commerce—with Mexico's problems and policies of internal development. He will learn still more of the financial conditions of that country, and will be quick to appreciate the fact that no better use could be made of American capital available for foreign investment than in coöperation with Mexico's efforts to utilize her abundant natural resources. The President-elect of Mexico, Mr. Emilio Portes Gil, is taking office December 1, with the support and good-will that was exhibited by his unanimous election as provisional head of the Republic by the two Houses of the Mexican Congress. Both

countries will be benefited by the meeting between Mr. Hoover and the new Mexican President, under the tactful and gracious auspices of Ambassador Morrow.

Nicaragua in Friendly Attitude

In Central America the point of greatest interest for Mr. Hoover is bound to be the Republic of Nicaragua. In spite of forebodings and anxieties as expressed by Gov. Alfred E. Smith in the campaign, the election of a President was carried through on November 4, in a more orderly and democratic fashion than ever before in any Central American State. Two parties had been in such intense rivalry as to have drifted into a state of civil war. American assistance, far from exhibiting qualities of tyranny or overlordship, has resulted in proving to the Nicaraguans the value of self-government, and of submission to the popular will as fairly ascertained. Political leaders on both sides have praised the impartial and honest supervision exercised by Americans taking part in the work of the electoral commission. President Coolidge sent congratulations, on November 9, to President Diaz. The election resulted in the choice of Gen. José Moncada, the Liberal candidate, by a majority of 19,471, over Mr. Adolfo Benaro, the Conservative candidate. The Liberals polled, in round figures, 75,500 votes, and the Conservatives 56,000. About 88 per cent. of the registered voters appeared at the polls. The Nicaraguan Senate of 24 members is equally divided between the two parties. In the new Chamber of Deputies, the Conservatives have 23 members and the Liberals 20, as reported by General McCoy.

A Successful Election Perfect order existed throughout the country. The Conservatives have accepted the results in good faith, and both parties are said to be contributing money toward a fund for the erection of a statue in honor of Gen. Frank R. McCoy, who is admired and respected in Central America. There will be no reign of blissful and unbroken harmony for indefinite years to come in Nicaragua, any more than in any other country.

The lessons of self-government are hard to learn, and they are too easily forgotten, even when so highly approved as at present in Nicaragua. But the success of this supervised election affords an answer to much ill-advised criticism in our recent campaign, under stress of what was cheaply regarded as a good partisan point of attack. Plans are advanced for the preliminary survey of the proposed Nicaraguan Canal, for which treaty arrangements have already been made. Mr. Hoover's training and experience are quite certain to lend themselves to the promotion of an enterprise that was in contemplation thirty years ago.

Chile and Peru Are Cooperating In his visits on the West Coast of South America, Mr. Hoover will find it pleasant to congratulate Chile and Peru upon the resumption of diplomatic relations. An adjustment of the Tacna-Arica problem by direct negotiation would be infinitely preferable to a settlement by outside adjudication. A territorial problem of that kind does not lend itself well to the method of arbitration. If the republics of the West Coast can find their own solution, in a spirit of friendship, they will set an example that must bring forth the hearty congratulations of the entire world. Europe will find it easier to solve some still unsettled territorial disputes by virtue of the discovery that South American republics can see greater value in the establishment of permanent peace and friendship than in uncompromising adherence to their rival claims. Neither of these countries, as things stand, will find Mr. Hoover's visit embarrassing, and they will need no persuasion to be convinced that the efforts of the United States to carry out one plan or another for adjusting the territorial question have, from the first, been those of impartial good-will.

South America's Exports For many years Mr. Hoover has been at the central point of observation in matters affecting our trade and commerce. He is fully prepared to understand the economic problems of Argentina and Brazil. The



THE NEW PRESIDENT OF NICARAGUA (center) AND SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS

In the election held on November 4, the Liberal candidate, Gen. José Moncada, was elected. Thus the Liberal revolt against President Diaz, which culminated in a revolution halted by the United States late in 1926, became successful through peaceful means under American electoral supervision.

magnificent agricultural development of Argentina keeps the question of foreign markets always in the minds of Argentine statesmen and effects considerably our own trade. We would like to open more freely our own Eastern markets to the wheat, corn, beef, hides, and other products of Argentine farms and ranches, but we are bound to consider the welfare of our own agriculture, that is producing still more extensively than our Southern competitors. We cannot yield the American market to the ocean-borne food-stuffs of South America and Australia, unless we give up tariff protection of our industries and open the doors to European manufactures of all kinds. No man in the world to-day has a larger comprehension of the intricacies of international trade in relation to domestic prosperity than Mr. Hoover. Our so-called "agricultural-relief" policies have their necessary complement in our policies affecting exports and imports. Mr. Hoover carries with him on his Latin-American tour so much previous knowledge that he will the more readily assimilate new in-

formation and fresh points of view as he proceeds from one country to another. Cattle, coffee, rubber, sugar, tropical fruits—all such factors of production and trade will interest him.

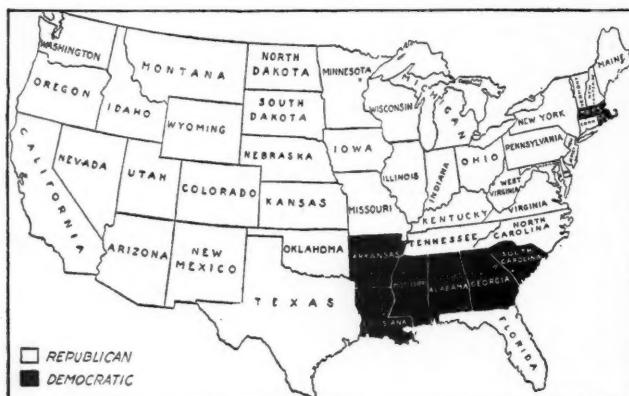
*The
Election Map
Examined*

The election map shows at a glance the sweeping extent of the Hoover victory. On the Democratic side it is proclaimed that the shifting of a certain number of votes, perhaps half a million, distributed in a certain way, would have elected Governor Smith. That, of course, may be true. But it is still easier to show that a little more effort for Hoover in Alabama might have changed the mere 7,000 votes required to reverse the result. A swing of 13,000 votes would have given Arkansas to Hoover. Fifteen thousand transferred from Smith to his opponent would have given a Hoover victory in Georgia. For some reason, the Hoover vote that was confidently expected in Louisiana was not well polled or counted on election day. Nothing, of course, could have induced South Carolina to vote for a Republican; but Louisiana is normally inclined to Republican views, on economic policies. Mississippi, next to South Carolina, is the most intensely Democratic State in the Union. Evidently, then, the mere switching of 35,000 votes would have carried over to the Hoover column the three great States of Arkansas, Alabama and Georgia, remembering, too, that Arkansas was carried in sole deference to Senator Robinson, and would have gone with Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas but for the fact that its

favorite son was on the ticket. Louisiana and Mississippi would have been left in the Smith column, with South Carolina always blindly a one-party State.

*Election
Figuring as a
Pastime*

The transfer of less than 800 votes would have given Rhode Island to Hoover, a minor fraction of 1 per cent. of the total poll. A change of 11,000 votes from Smith to Hoover in Massachusetts (barely two-thirds of 1 per cent. of the vote) would, with Rhode Island, have made the Republican victory complete and unanimous everywhere in the North. These post-election calculations afford harmless diversion to many politicians, especially the defeated ones; and they are a much more instructive and suitable pastime for the young citizen than playing card games. We have endeavored, in these pages, to present both candidates at their best, and each side of the great party contest in a reasonable spirit of fair play. But from the first it was our opinion that each of the two parties had chosen candidates, and adopted platforms, that would justify their making a hard fight in every one of the forty-eight States. Furthermore, while we might have had our opinions, we were so well aware of the elements of uncertainty entering into the contest, that neither party seemed to us to be justified in taking anything for granted, or in assuming that any State in the Union could be counted upon with certainty, unless Vermont and South Carolina were excepted. It turns out that the *Literary Digest's* weekly reports of its remarkably extensive straw vote were upheld in the final result. But with the vast increase of registration there were obscure factors, which might in the end have proved too baffling for the most conscientious and enterprising forecasts.



HOW THE STATES VOTED FOR PRESIDENT

Mr. Hoover carried forty States, while Governor Smith was successful in six States in the far South and two in New England.

*Concerning
the Democratic
Party*

The structure, the doctrines, and the methods of each great party belong to the country at large, as a part of the current procedure by which we carry on our supreme business, that of government. The Democratic party owes to the



HON. ALFRED EMANUEL SMITH

Though he carried only eight States, Governor Smith was the choice of fifteen million voters for President of the United States. He retires to private life on January 1, having served four terms as Governor of New York. Some of his supporters have looked upon the recent campaign as merely preliminary to a more successful one in 1932.

country, as well as to itself, a high-minded effort to recover its equilibrium. Nothing was revealed so plainly by the election as the fact that this great opposition party is badly off its balance. Its lack of unity in the San Francisco Convention contributed much to the Harding victory in 1920. Its defeat in 1924 followed those weeks of turmoil and division in the Madison Square Garden Convention. John W. Davis was an excellent candidate, but his party was demoralized. Under the ordinary rule of the majority, Mr. McAdoo would have been nominated in 1924. The two-thirds rule is a delusion—an unhallowed

tradition—a surviving curse—a mocking imp to be exorcised. Its evil influences are sometimes disguised, but always at work. After that disastrous convention, there was only one permanent and aggressive agency remaining in the Democratic party that made plans ahead for 1928, and then worked at them without neglect or delay. Mr. McAdoo retired from active politics, as also did Mr. John W. Davis. One of them practised law in Los Angeles, the other in New York City. The Wilsonian Democracy existed, but it was not held together under accepted leadership to control the party decisions of 1928. The one organiza-

tion that strove without ceasing for four years was Tammany Hall, with Governor Smith's nomination as its one supreme object, and with hatred of prohibition as an impelling motive. Success is likely to come to people who know just what they want, and who work to get it in public affairs, while other men are not on guard. The Smith movement was managed so skilfully that it had captured the Democratic party in advance of the Houston Convention, with the hurdle of the two-thirds rule cleared with the utmost ease. Governor Smith thereupon made a gallant effort to assume the rôle of a national leader, and the Democratic party tried to convince itself that it had found in Governor Smith a combination of Abraham Lincoln, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

Regulars For the sake of party regularity, the men who had once been most strenuously opposed

to Tammany, and to its fluent and militant exponent, now made a disheartened stand in such Democratic strongholds as Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee. With so many newcomers from the North, the Hoover victory in Florida was not wholly surprising; but the results in Texas were almost unbelievable to politicians of all parties and schools. Nobody can say that Democrats like Carter Glass and Josephus Daniels did not do their very best for a party which had refused to follow their able and wise counsels. They were justified in maintaining party regularity, precisely as Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge were justified in accepting party results in 1884, and supporting Mr. Blaine rather than Mr. Cleveland. But, on the other hand, Senator Simmons and hosts of other Democrats in the South deserve honor for following the dictates of conscience, and for swinging their States away from a kind of domination that they regarded as disastrous. If they needed any justification they found it in the one fact—outstanding above all others in the election—that Governor Smith failed to carry his own State.

*Success
Justifies
Bolting* The Governor had been nominated at Houston not for his views or his principles, but

upon the firm promise that he could carry New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia and Ken-

tucky, as against Hoover or any other Republican. But he lost every one of these States. His managers promised to carry Wisconsin and North Dakota without doubt, and probably Minnesota, South Dakota and Nebraska. Southern Democrats now see how much better it would have been to have rallied the scattered forces that had been kept together in 1924, and that brought Mr. Davis to the front. Nothing could be further from our purpose than to lecture the Democratic leaders. Governor Smith is still a young man, who will be available for nomination in 1932. He does not hesitate to claim that his nomination at Houston makes him the chosen and unquestioned leader of the Democratic party for four years to come. Mr. Davis did not claim any such authority after the election of 1924, but he has never been a professional politician. It should be well understood among Democrats in the West and South that the strong factors of support that carried Governor Smith so easily through the Houston Convention expect to remain in control of the Democratic party, and to be stronger than ever four years hence, with the renomination of Governor Smith at present wholly probable.

*Prohibition as
Fought by
Gov. Smith* Since each voter knows best what motives actuated him on November 6, we shall use no space in an endeavor to tell our readers why they voted one way or the other. As regards prohibition, the election will have further decreased the existing minority of "wet" members in both Houses of Congress. In any case, the President does not make the laws, but takes an oath to enforce them. That Mr. Hoover will do his best in this matter, everyone knows. Laws of this nature can not be thoroughly enforced unless there is a disposition on the part of citizens to obey them. It is understood that Mr. Hoover, who will bring expert knowledge to questions of departmental arrangement, will favor the transfer of the Prohibition Unit from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice. So far as we are aware, there is no opposition at all to such a change. There is ample testimony to the effect that Southern voters who supported Hoover were largely impelled by their desire to sustain the Eighteenth Amendment. Governor Smith's injection of his views on this question into the campaign was a mistake from the



Mrs. Ruth Baker Pratt
Republican, New York

Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen
Democrat, Florida

Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick
Republican, Illinois

THREE NEW MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

The four present Congresswomen were all reelected on November 6: Mrs. Florence P. Kahn of California, Mrs. Katherine Langley of Kentucky, Mrs. Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, and Mrs. Edith N. Rogers of Massachusetts. Seventy-first Congress, which may be called in extra session in April or May, they will be joined by these three new women members—all of whom, by a pleasant coincidence, are named Ruth.

political standpoint. His personal convictions were fully known, as was his record; but they had slight importance pro or con, for the purposes of the Presidential election; because prohibition had not been made by either party an issue this year, and the existing laws were not in question.

Radio, the Leading Feature In its methods, the campaign deserves more careful study than it has yet received. We

still hold to the view we have often expressed in these pages that our national campaigns are now much too long. A period of four to five months involves too much organization and expenditure. The political education of citizens should go on every day of the year, and the best educational results are not produced under the party lash, by high-pressure campaign methods. By far the most effective agency this year has been the magnificent use of radio broadcasting by both sides. It has cost large sums of money, but these expenditures were justified and were as nothing compared with the results. Let us suppose that broadcasting cost four million dollars, somewhat evenly divided. Citizens of the entire country were able to hear the careful addresses of Mr. Hoover and the fine speeches of Mr.

Hughes and Mr. Borah, not to mention other leading Republicans. Governor Smith's typical speeches, made in different parts of the country, were all of them broadcast from ocean to ocean. Almost everyone in the United States now knows the agreeable voice and charming diction of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who will henceforth be kept busy as the party harmonizer. Senator Robinson's voice and oratorical method are now as well known throughout the Northern States as they are in Arkansas. When one apportions the expense among the tens of millions of listeners who heard the speeches in their own homes, as clearly as if they had been within ten feet of the speaker, it needs scant argument to show that there is no other single method of campaigning on a great scale that can now be compared for effectiveness and for cheapness with radio broadcasting.

Money Spent, and Party Manners But also, it must be admitted, these new methods would justify conventions in September rather than in June, and campaigns of six weeks rather than of almost half a year. It should be said that on neither side, this year, has there been any accusation of misuse of funds in violation of election laws

and of ethical principles. Both sides stated frankly their financial needs. The Republicans, under the competent, vigorous methods of men like General Harbord, who gave time and effort to the campaign, were able to balance their budget by election day. The Democrats, with commendable frankness, through Mr. Henry Morgenthau, announced that they still had a million dollars to collect. There was no doubt, however, of the solvency of the Democratic campaign organization, and of the readiness with which it would be able to make up its deficit and meet its bills. Both parties are to be congratulated upon open methods and straightforward management. Headquarters control can not be exercised over millions of partisans; and we prefer to believe that there was no intention on the part of Mr. Raskob's well-centered Democratic efforts, or on the part of Dr. Work's less centralized type of campaign, to countenance mud-slinging. Our campaigns are far less bitter in party spirit and in personal antagonisms than those of Great Britain and of many other countries. Nothing could have been more unreserved and generous in tone than Governor Smith's telegram congratulating Mr. Hoover; and Mr. Hoover's reply was equally cordial and friendly.

*An Earl
Who Twits
Mr. Coolidge*

The politicians of Great Britain are so unrestrained in their attacks upon one another, that they sometimes forget themselves and allow their billingsgate habit to affect their comments upon leaders and affairs outside their own domestic jurisdiction. Thus the Earl of Birkenhead, who is the most typical spokesman of the Tory party, expressed the views of his fellow partisans in a speech on November 14, attacking President Coolidge and the United States, with particular reference to the President's Armistice Day speech. Among other things even less pleasant in tone, he declared: "We haven't asked the United States, so far as I am aware, to do anything for us. When America came into the war it was not in admiration for us, but because American nationals were being murdered by German submarines. That was the only reason. It took about three years for the United States to achieve that decision." And he proceeded with the further reminder that "the American soldiers were mostly carried in British ships." It happens that this brilliant light of im-

perial statesmanship forgot to mention the large cash rates of fare paid by the United States for the privilege of sending American boys to Europe packed like sardines in the dark holds of these British ships.

*Memories—
Shorter and
Longer*

Perhaps, also, the noble Earl (recently better known as Frederick E. Smith) has forgotten that, although President Wilson is dead and Secretary Lansing has just passed away, there still remain members of the Wilson Administration, notably, Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Houston, Mr. Daniels, Mr. Baker, and such diplomatic agents as Colonel House. These and many other men remember vividly the successive British missions to this country, and their appeals for aid. There are no two men living today, in any country, who better than President-elect Hoover and Admiral Sims know the situation that existed in 1917, the desperation that was felt and expressed behind the scenes in England, and the grateful sentiments that were aroused by America's response. If there should ever be a moment when an American statesman were callous enough to declare that America had never asked anything of France, it would not be necessary for Frenchmen to reply. We happen to know our own history in this country; and a million Americans would be quick to recount the vital aid rendered us in our Revolutionary struggles. We gained our independence by virtue of the assistance rendered us by the French Government and its Treasury, by Gen. Lafayette, by the splendid regiments of Gen. Rochambeau, and by the great fleet under Admiral de Grasse. The support of France in our contest was decisive; and it is not less true that the assistance rendered by the United States to Great Britain in 1918 was not less essential to the result that was achieved.

*What
Will They
Gain?*

The bitter sarcasm and open hostility with which the Tory press continues to discuss American activities and policies discloses a spirit that broad-minded Americans would prefer to ignore, rather than to dignify by any attention. But it is a fact that has to be reckoned with, like other facts. Mr. Simonds comments upon its bearings in his article this month. The English people, as a whole, have never had a fair understanding of foreign and imperial policies that have been conducted since Queen Eliza-

beth's time by an oligarchy within the circles of a permanent ruling caste. The policies of these leaders are adding greatly to the burdens of the ordinary Englishman, who pays taxes to support needless armaments. The American temper is not disturbed, and this country, with its romantic affection for the ancestral home of so large a part of its population, will not fail to maintain in full measure the Anglo-American friendship that the bad manners and arrogant tone of certain speakers and writers in England are doing so much to injure. If anyone should ask these men to tell simply and soberly what they hope to gain by creating false prejudices against the United States in the minds of plain and honest British citizens, it is to be feared that their answer would be evasive.

The Flag at Sea The only change in the trends of American policy will have to do with the Navy, and the

Merchant Marine. The Earl of Birkenhead, speaking of the cruiser question, says that "while the United States may build as she chooses, we cannot go against the advice of our Admiralty and the opinion of our government, and surrender the right to build that number of light cruisers which we are advised are necessary to protect the Empire with which we have been entrusted." We are convinced that this is a frank and straightforward expression of the position of the present British government. Cruiser limitation by agreement is plainly out of the question until next year's election.

The Short Way Fails President Coolidge had hoped that the short cut to naval reduction was by means of an

agreement supplementary to that of the Washington Conference. He did his best, and he now discovers, as President Wilson discovered in 1919, that the longer way around may be the quicker way home. The objective of the United States is the reduction of all navies to the lowest possible point. We regard the seas as belonging quite as truly to Holland and Germany as to Great Britain or the United States or Japan. Unlike the imperialists of the Birkenhead type, we have no empire to defend. But we have responsibilities for the protection of great interests, and for the well-being of the world, that are now greater by far than those asserted on behalf of the British government.

Ships for Our Trade

It is also evident that American interests require a great extension of our mercantile marine. We spent billions in 1917-18 on hastily constructed small ships, the better to supply England with food, and to diminish submarine risks. Hundreds of these ships were absolutely worthless after the war. It was an altruistic policy on our part that has never been understood or appreciated. Having thus paid for freight vessels much more than the cost of the best merchant marine in the world, in order to give first aid to our friends in distress, we now owe it to the dignity of our flag on the seas, and to the stability of our foreign trade, to pay whatever reasonable price it may cost us to have the best modern ships.

The Vestris—

a Sea Tragedy

It is with no disposition to be harshly critical that we call attention to the tragedy of the sinking of the English steamer *Vestris*, sailing from New York to South America on November 12. There will doubtless be a Congressional investigation. We should certainly be better served in our trade with Latin America by new ships, built in American yards, and operating under American laws regulating employment of seamen, safety devices, and all the conditions affecting the welfare of crews and passengers.

Zeppelins and Future Air-Service

Our readers will find in this number two remarkable articles upon the navigation of the air. Hon. Edward P. Warner, in charge of the aeronautic interests of the American Navy, writes of the remarkable visit to this country of the great German airship, the *Graf Zeppelin*, and of the prospects for lighter-than-air modes of transportation. Another authority, Lieut. Raffe Emerson, now engaged in aircraft engineering, formerly in the Navy's flying service, writes with thorough technical knowledge and broad experience, and describes especially plans for Spanish Zeppelin service between Seville and Buenos Aires. Increased intercourse between Spain and the great Spanish-speaking republics of South America is to be heartily welcomed. Mr. Emerson's article will bring to the attention of most of our readers for the first time, this evidence of awakened energy in Spain, where American tourists are welcomed, and are returning from recent experiences of Spanish travel with enthusiastic comments.

*The News,
as Drama
and School*

There is never a month when the marvelous agencies that gather and distribute the news of the world do not bring to our notice a hundred or a thousand things that appeal to our interest or to our sympathy. One of the chief rewards that come to those who seek knowledge, and persevere in the cultivation of their higher faculties, is the ability to read the world's news with understanding and with a sense of human fellowship. The unfolding drama presented in the news, more entrancing by far than any work of literary art or of historical authorship, is an assured resource for every one who trains himself to comprehend it, and to feel its power to thrill and to entertain.

*Looking
Across the
Pacific*

To a man sitting at such a post of influence and center of observation as that of our Secretary of State, absorbing experiences may come, even, as Mr. Drew Pearson so well explains in this number, they have come to Mr. Kellogg. The colossal struggle of the Chinese people to evolve modern nationality has had such official encouragement as our country could justly render. Appreciation of the United States is shown by the new Chinese government in its appointment of Gen. Harbord, Owen D. Young, Henry Ford, Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, and Mr. Robert Harper, as honorary economic advisers. In our November issue was presented an article on the beginning of a new reign in Japan. The Emperor Hirohito ascended the throne on November 10, with the elaborate ceremonials that have come down from antiquity, although the Emperor is as modern a man in his spirit and his views as Herbert Hoover himself. The Emperor read a noble and lofty address to the Japanese people, and Premier Tanaka responded in like spirit. There are problems affecting Japan and China that will tax the wisdom and test the powers of restraint and self-control of the statesmen of both these great nations. Nothing further, however, can be gained by stubborn disputes, and only disaster could come from war.

*Religion
Tends to
Unify*

With the political campaign claiming first attention, the more recent activities of educational and religious organizations have been less conspicuous than would otherwise

have been the case. American schools of all grades began their autumn terms more hopefully and prosperously than ever before, with genuine attempts, in many directions, to make school life a better preparation for the future of the individual pupil. Among various representative gatherings of religious bodies, the Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church at Washington, in the latter part of October, was perhaps the most significant. We are publishing an article on the Convention, relating particularly to the spirit it displayed, from the pen of Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, for many years one of the principal officers of Yale University, and now a clergyman of the National Cathedral at Washington. The Convention, recognizing the tendencies toward coöperation and unity among the churches, decided to confer, through joint committees, with Presbyterians and Methodists, looking to closer relationships in the future. We are glad to publish a letter from Bishop McDowell, eminent representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and one from Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin of New York, President of Union Theological Seminary, himself of the Presbyterian communion. It is not the magnanimity of secularism, or of indifference, that these religious leaders exhibit. Rather it is the recognition of common aims and objects, for the accomplishment of which their faith, zeal and enthusiasm bid them minimize non-essential differences.

*The President
Commanded by
a Cardinal* On November 14 President Coolidge attended the ceremonies at the Catholic University in Washington, on occasion of the inauguration of Dr. James Hugh Bryan as the new Rector. Cardinals Hayes of New York, Daugherty of Philadelphia, and O'Connell of Boston were present, with many bishops and ecclesiastics. President Coolidge received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Speaking as a fellow New Englander, Cardinal O'Connell declared that he had often had occasion to observe the high importance which our Chief Executive had placed on religious influence in government, and the honorable example he had set in the application of Christian principles in the administration of public affairs. Coming from a Cardinal to a Congregational layman, these were words of generous understanding.

A Record of Current Events

FROM OCTOBER 16 TO NOVEMBER 15, 1928

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

October 19.—In his final address in the Middle West, at Chicago, Governor Smith sums up the issues of the campaign.

October 22.—Mr. Hoover characterizes Governor Smith's policies on Prohibition, farm-relief, and water power as "State socialism," in an address before 22,000 at New York City.

October 27.—Mr. Hoover declares that, if elected, he will call an extra session of the new Congress for the prompt enactment of farm relief.

October 28.—It is announced from Washington that 43,000,000 citizens, 14,000,000 more than in 1924, have registered to vote in the election.

October 29.—Governor Smith calls the Klan and the Anti-Saloon League allies of the Republican party, in a speech at Baltimore.

November 2.—President Coolidge sends a telegram of approval and endorsement to Mr. Hoover.

November 5.—Governor Smith from New York and Mr. Hoover from his California home deliver final messages to voters in radio talks.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 6.—Electeds of President and Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress, are chosen throughout the United States; thirty-eight United States Senators and thirty-five State Governors are chosen.

Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis, Republican nominees for President and Vice-President, carry forty States with 444 votes in the Electoral College; Alfred E. Smith and Joseph T. Robinson, Democratic nominees, carry eight States with eighty-seven electoral votes.

Elections to the Seventy-first Congress result as follows: 267 Republicans, 164 Democrats, 1 Farmer-Laborite, and 3 doubtful. The Senate will consist of 55 Republicans, 39 Democrats, 1 Farmer-Laborite, and 1 vacancy.

November 9.—President-elect Herbert Hoover makes known his intention to sail on a good-will mission to South and Central America.

November 11.—In an Armistice Day address, President Coolidge advocates more American cruisers and a restriction on financial advances to European nations.

FOREIGN POLICIES AND GOVERNMENT

November 4.—A regular and orderly presidential election is held in Nicaragua under the requested supervision of U. S. Marines; General Moncada (Liberal) is elected.

November 5.—Premier Poincaré and his cabinet of National Union are forced to resign by the Radical Socialists, leaving France without a government on the opening day of the parliamentary session.

November 6.—King George opens the final session of the present British Parliament with a speech praising the Kellogg peace pact.

November 9.—The Peasant party gains control of the Rumanian Government, Julius Maniu becoming Premier.

November 10.—Hirohito is crowned Emperor of Japan with great pomp and ceremony.

November 11.—Premier Poincaré forms his fifth French ministry, disregarding the Radical Socialists.

November 15.—The Italian Senate, 181 to 19, adopts the bill which in effect gives the Grand Council of the National Fascist party an important share in the machinery of government.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 15.—Ramsay MacDonald, former British Premier, declares that no single nation brought about the World War, lecturing in the Reichstag at Berlin.

October 17.—Argentina refuses to recognize British sovereignty over South Georgia, and the Falkland and South Orkney Islands.

October 19.—Premier Poincaré of France, Winston Churchill, British Chancellor of the Exchequer and S. Parker Gilbert, Agent General for Reparations Payments, meeting at Paris, decide to turn the question of Germany's reparations over to a world committee of bankers, Germany participating.

November 5.—It is announced that France and Italy are negotiating a treaty to settle issues in the Mediterranean and North Africa.

OTHER OCCURRENCES

October 25.—The monoplane *Yankee Doodle*, piloted by Capt. C. B. D. Collyer, sets a new non-stop record of 24 hours and 51 minutes from New York to Los Angeles.

November 1.—The dirigible *Graf Zeppelin* arrives safely at Friedrichshafen, Germany, from Lakehurst, N. J., having made the return trip in 69 hours.

November 3.—The *Yankee Doodle* airplane, holder of two transcontinental records, is wrecked in a canyon near Prescott, Ariz., killing both its pilot and owner.

November 8.—José de Leon Toral, confessed assassin of President-elect Obregon of Mexico, is sentenced to death after a seven-day trial, while the nun, Concepcion Acevedo y de la Flata, is given twenty years imprisonment for being the "intellectual author" of the crime.

Mascalí, an Italian town of 10,000, is wiped out by lava erupted from Mount Etna, and the molten tide advances, threatening other villages.

November 12.—On the tenth day the flow of lava from Mt. Etna shows signs of abatement.

The Nobel Prize in Literature for 1928 is awarded

to Sigrid Undset, of Norway, and for 1927 to Henri Bergson of France.

November 13.—S. S. *Vestris* sinks off the Virginia Capes, en route from New York to Barbados; 215 of the passengers and crew are later rescued from life-boats, but 110 perish.

November 14.—Survivors of the *Vestris* disaster reach New York, bringing charges that the wireless distress signal was long delayed, that life-boats were launched too late, and that most of the crew saved themselves first; more than half the passengers perished, and less than one-fourth the crew.

OBITUARY

October 16.—James Walter Thompson, pioneer advertising agent, 81. . . . Benjamin Strong, Governor of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, 56.

October 17.—Sir Francis Dicksee, president of the British Royal Academy and noted artist, 74.

October 22.—Charles Arnette Towne, one-time United States Senator from New York, 70. . . . Dr. Albert Hutchinson Putney, former head of the

State Department's Near East Division, 56. . . . Andrew Fisher, three times Prime Minister of Australia, 66.

October 23.—George Barr McCutcheon, author, 62.

October 24.—Cardinal Gaetano di Lai, member of the Papal Rota, 75. . . . George Herbert Kin solving, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Texas, 79.

October 30.—Robert Lansing, Secretary of State under President Wilson, 64.

October 31.—Albert Bartholomé, French sculptor and designer of the Croix de Guerre, 80.

November 2.—Rev. Francis J. Finn, educator and author of books for boys, 70.

November 5.—Dr. Frank Crane, noted writer, 67.

November 10.—Prince Alexander Trepov, Premier of Russia from November 24, 1916, to January 9, 1917.

November 15.—Thomas C. Chamberlin, emeritus professor of geology, University of Chicago, and former president of the University of Wisconsin, 85.

UNITED STATES SENATORS ELECTED NOVEMBER 6

Arizona—Henry F. Ashurst, D.*
California—Hiram W. Johnson, R.*
Connecticut—Frederick C. Walcott, R.
Delaware—John G. Townsend, Jr., R.
Florida—Park Trammell, D.*
Idaho—John Thomas, R.
Illinois—Otis F. Glenn, R.
Indiana—Arthur Robinson, R.*
Maryland—P. L. Goldsborough, R.
Massachusetts—David I. Walsh, D.*
Michigan—Arthur H. Vandenberg, R.*
Minnesota—Henrik Shipstead, F. L.*
Mississippi—Hubert D. Stephens, D.*
Missouri—Roscoe C. Patterson, R.
Montana—Burton K. Wheeler, D.*
Nebraska—Robert B. Howell, R.*
Nevada—Key Pittman, D.*
New Jersey—Hamilton F. Kean, R.
New Mexico—{ Bronson Cutting, R.*
O. A. Larrazolo, R.
New York—Royal S. Copeland, D.*
North Dakota—Lynn J. Frazier, R.*
Ohio—{ Simeon D. Fess, R.*
Theodore E. Burton, R.
Pennsylvania—David A. Reed, R.*
Rhode Island—Felix Hebert, R.
Tennessee—Kenneth McKellar, D.*
Texas—Tom Connally, D.
Utah—William H. King, D.*
Vermont—Frank L. Greene, R.*
Virginia—Claude A. Swanson, D.*
Washington—{ Kenneth Mackintosh, R.
C. C. Dill, D.*
West Virginia—Harry D. Hatfield, R.
Wisconsin—R. M. La Follette, Jr., R.*
Wyoming—{ Charles E. Winter, R.
John B. Kendrick, D.*

*Reelected

Republican Senators succeed Democrats in Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Rhode Island and West Virginia.

In Maine, Frederick Hale, R., was reelected Senator on September 10.

GOVERNORS OF STATES ELECTED NOVEMBER 6

Arizona—John C. Phillips, R.
Arkansas—Harvey Parnell, D.
Colorado—William H. Adams, D.*
Connecticut—John H. Trumbull, R.*
Delaware—C. Douglass Buck, R.
Florida—Doyle E. Carlton, D.
Georgia—L. G. Hardman, D.*
Idaho—H. C. Baldridge, R.*
Illinois—Louis L. Emmerson, R.
Indiana—Harry G. Leslie, R.
Iowa—John Hammill, R.*
Kansas—Clyde M. Reed, R.
Massachusetts—Frank L. Allen, R.
Michigan—Fred W. Green, R.*
Minnesota—Theodore Christianson, R.*
Missouri—Henry S. Caulfield, R.
Montana—John E. Erickson, D.*
Nebraska—Arthur J. Weaver, R.
New Hampshire—Charles W. Tobey, R.
New Jersey—Morgan F. Larson, R.
New Mexico—Richard C. Dillon, R.
New York—Franklin D. Roosevelt, D.
North Carolina—O. Max Gardner, D.
North Dakota—George F. Shafer, R.
Ohio—Myers Y. Cooper, R.
Rhode Island—Norman S. Case, R.
South Dakota—William J. Bulow, D.*
Tennessee—Henry H. Horton, D.
Texas—Dan Moody, D.*
Utah—George H. Dern, D.*
Vermont—John E. Weeks, R.*
Washington—Roland H. Hartley, R.*
West Virginia—William G. Conley, R.
Wisconsin—Walter J. Kohler, R.

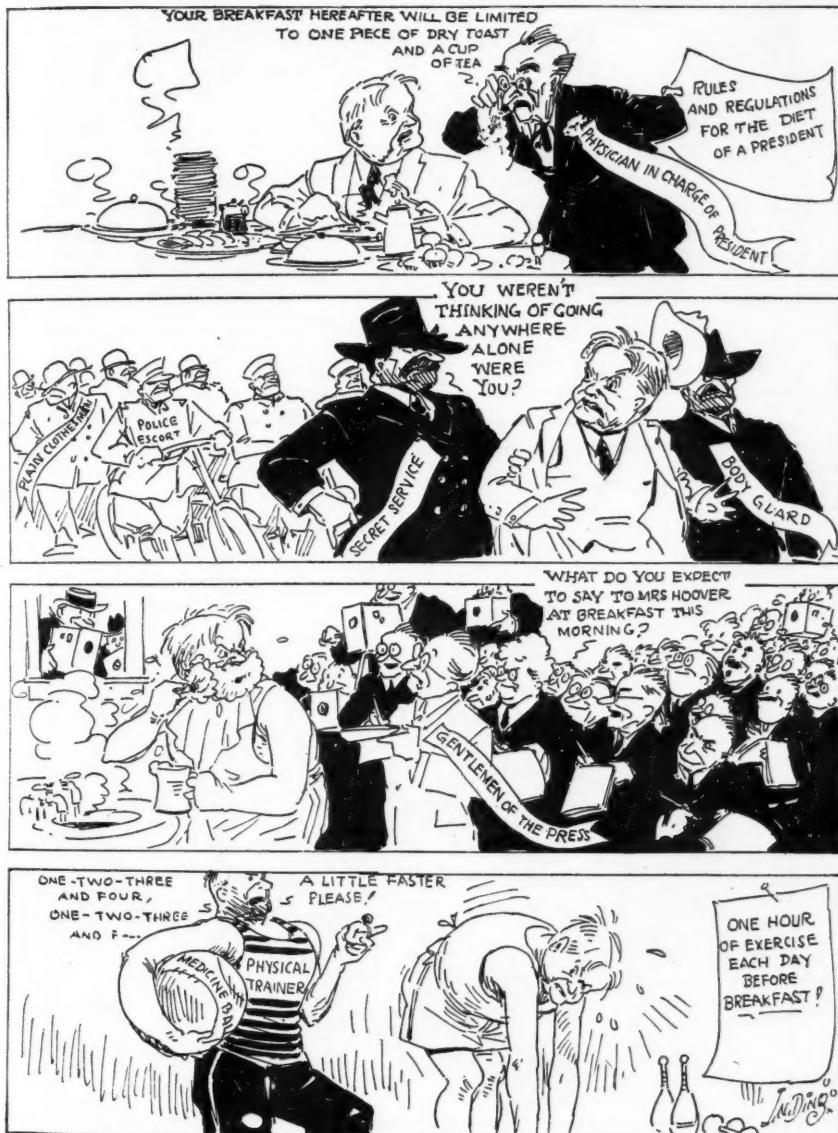
*Reelected

Republican Governors succeed Democrats in Arizona, New Jersey, Ohio.

In Maine, William T. Gardiner, R., was elected Governor on September 10.

Cartoons at Home and Abroad

America Reviews the Election—Europe Thinks of Navies and Peace



THE PENALTIES OF AN ELECTORAL MAJORITY
By Darling, in the *Register* (Des Moines, Iowa)



THE ONLY ONE OF THE NEIGHBORS HE HASN'T MET

By Darling, in the *Herald Tribune* (New York City)

FOILED

By Pease, in the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)



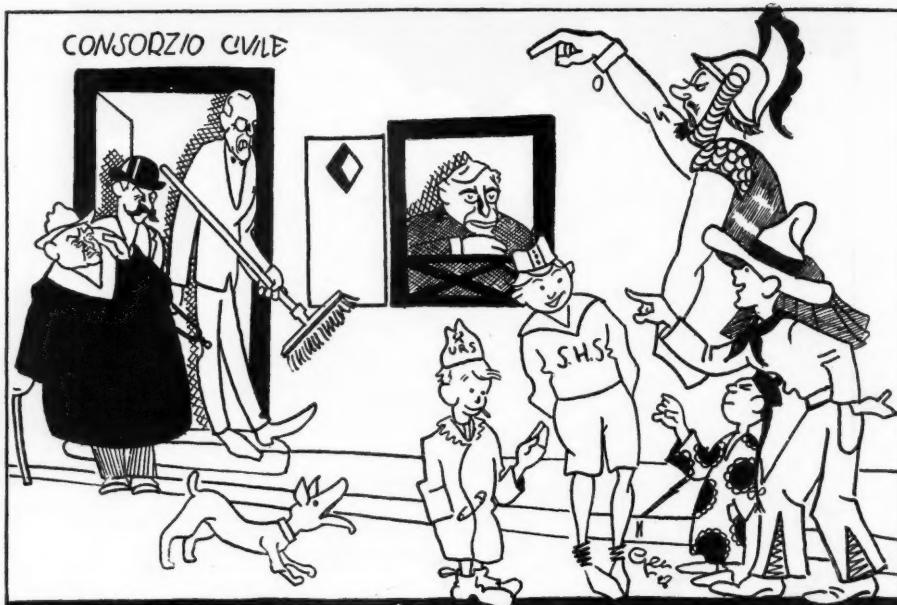
BREAKING THROUGH
By Chapin, in the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



MYSTERIOUS STRANGERS
By McCutcheon, in the *Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois)



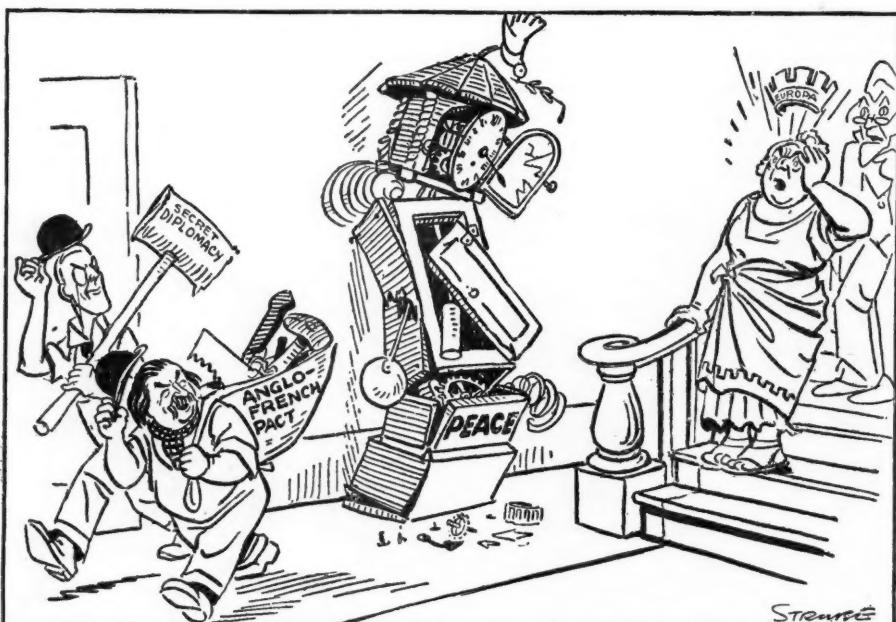
THE COLONEL TAKES A RIDE!
By Seibel, in the *Times-Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.)



THE FUTURE OF THE PEACE PACT

SECRETARY KELLOGG AND HIS COLLEAGUES (in window and doorway): "Good-by forever, Mars!"
RUSSIA, JUGOSLAVIA, CHINA, AND MEXICO: "Never mind, old war lord, we'll reinstate you."

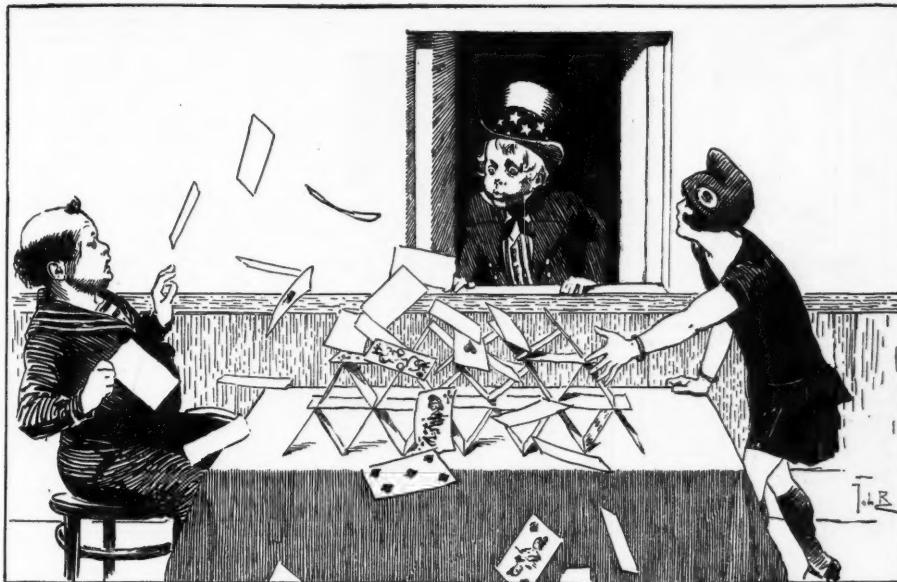
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



A CONSTRUCTIVE WRECKING TEAM

CLOCKWINDERS (CHAMBERLAIN AND BRIAND): "You'll find we've put the clock back all right, Mum—back to 1914!"

From the *Daily Express* (London)



UNCLE SAM UPSETS THE ANGLO-FRENCH NAVAL AGREEMENT

From *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

THAT NOSEY UNCLE SAM

JOHN BULL TO FRANCE: "Despite his exclusive Monroe Doctrine, the old gent is sticking his nose into our naval pact!"

From *Guerin Meschino* (Milan, Italy)



GREECE MAKES UP HER MIND

FRANCE (on stool): "Look, my dear Greece, all these handsome suitors are courting you!"
GREECE: "Quite so, sister, but I prefer this sturdy Italian."

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)

Referring to the treaty of friendship recently signed by Venizelos for Greece and Mussolini for Italy.



WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION IN CHINA

Nationalist Government poster, showing (top row, left to right): woman bound by the old customs, foot bindings cast off, an arranged marriage; and (bottom) woman outweighed in the social scale, earrings—now condemned, woman hacking her way to freedom

When Mr. Hoover Talks

BY HAMILTON HOLT

EARLY in 1919 the Hon. Oscar S. Straus and I were walking down the stairs of the Crillon Hotel in Paris (the French elevators only take you up) when we met a plump, personable, boyish-looking gentleman who greeted Mr. Straus most cordially, and whom Mr. Straus introduced to me, though I did not catch his name. He invited us into his private room in the hotel, and then in response to a question from Mr. Straus in regard to the world situation he launched out upon a forty-minute monologue, the like of which I have never heard from any mortal man before or since. Although he spoke with a range and sweep that included armies, nations, and even continents as though they were pawns in a game, yet his knowledge was fortified by fact and details. Never have I been more enthralled by charm of the spoken word or by sheer brilliancy of thought, analysis, and exposition. I was in the presence of a master.

I had come as a journalist across the Atlantic to get at the inside of the peace settlement, and without asking, I was receiving what any one of my professional brothers would have given his all to obtain. A hundred questions coursed through my mind as he spoke that I wished he would further elucidate, but I was afraid to interrupt him lest I break the continuity of his thought or the spell of his eloquence. When he had finished and we had bade him good-bye, and were out in the hall again, I seized Mr. Straus by the arm and said, "Who was that man? That was the most remarkable talk I have ever heard from human lips." He replied, "Why, don't you know, that was Herbert Hoover."

A year or more later in New York, I was asked by some Belgian friends to help them found a society to promote intercourse and

friendship between the United States and Belgium.

It was quite obvious that the one man to head the new society was Mr. Hoover, for he was the one American best known and best beloved by the Belgians. I accordingly wrote to Mr. Hoover telling him about our plans and asking him if he would accept the presidency of the society. By return mail I received a reply asking me if I would call the next day at his office in New York.

At the appointed hour I appeared and was at once ushered into his presence. He sat behind a large mahogany desk in the office of the Belgian Relief Committee. After the customary greetings, he said in effect: "Mr. Holt, you have had experience in working for peace through justice and in organizing international friendship societies and I know little about the latter. Will you please tell me what such a society as you and your friends propose should do and what would be expected of me if I were to accept the presidency?" I thereupon explained to him as best I could the plan and scope of such a society, and the duties of its president. He placed his chair so as to look me square in the face. He did not look at his watch. He gave me his strictest attention. He did not twiddle his thumbs or fumble his watch-chain. Not once did he interrupt me during the half-hour I spoke. And, most remarkable of all, no secretary was permitted to let his telephone bell ring. When I had finished he thanked me and said he would give me his decision in writing. Two days later I received a letter from him saying that he would accept the Presidency of the "Friends of Belgium Society."

When Mr. Hoover had something to say he was the best talker I ever heard. When he had something to learn he was the best listener I ever met.

Mr. Kellogg Achieves

BY DREW PEARSON

NOT long ago the Ambassador of Chile and the Ambassador of Peru sat down with the Secretary of State of the United States, at the long blue baize table in the reception room of the State Department, to felicitate one another on the resumption of diplomatic relations between those two South American neighbors after nearly eighteen years of bitter separation. When the formality was over, they adjourned to the rear steps of the State Department to pose for the photographers, and after one or two shots had been made and the cameramen were shouting orders to Ambassador Velarde, who cannot understand English, the Secretary of State of the United States quietly slipped out of the picture. He stood behind a pillar for a moment to see that all was well with the two recently reconciled diplomats and then went back to his office, leaving them to walk home together for the first time since their arrival in Washington.

The man who slipped quietly out of the picture was Frank B. Kellogg, and the incident is typical of his quiet, direct-method diplomacy. He had brought the two men together by that brand of diplomacy, and by it he kept them together. Their walk home marked the beginning of renewed negotiations for the settlement of Tacna-Arica — a dispute which has racked relations between Chile and Peru for more than forty years.

A Boom in Good-Will

The incident is even more important than this; for when Frank Kellogg persuaded Chile and Peru to resume diplomatic relations, his stock shot up on the market of Latin-American public opinion by an immeasurable percentage. He might negotiated tariff treaties with China until the cows came home, or he might settle the petroleum dispute with Mexico, or he might persuade the entire world to renounce war, but none of these raises him so high in the esteem of Latin America as the reconcilia-

tion of the traditional and unrelenting enemies, Chile and Peru.

On the crest of this still billowing wave of Latin-American confidence and popularity, Kellogg faces as his last important work before retiring from office probably the severest test of his direct-method diplomacy which he has had during his four years as Secretary of State. I refer to the First Pan-American Arbitration Conference which opens in Washington on December 10.

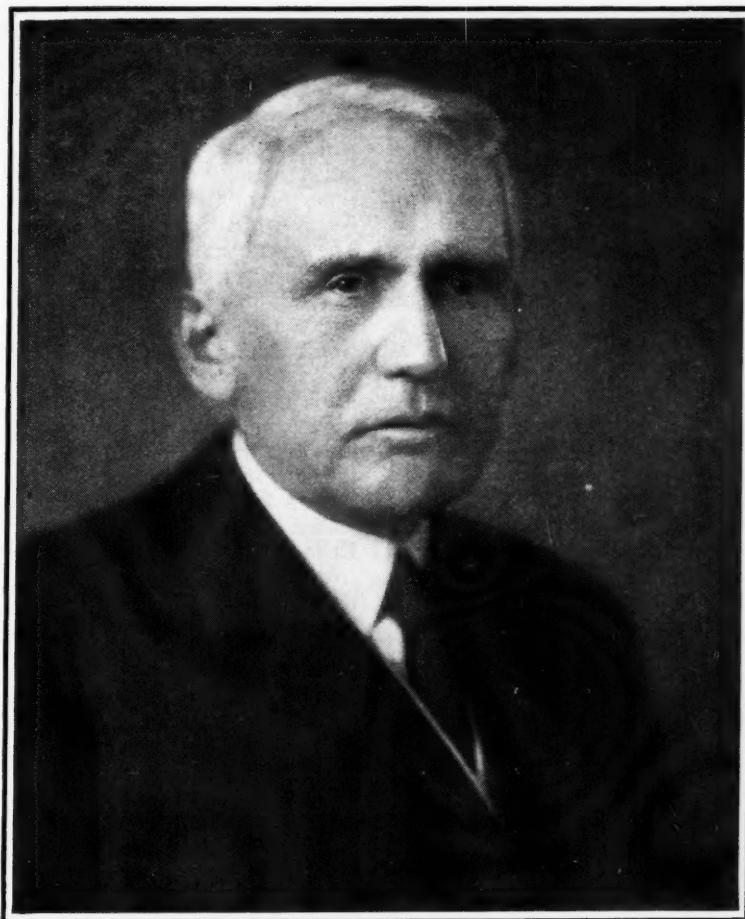
Satisfying Twenty Republics

The conference is not expected to be a spectacular event. It will not call forth the corps of special correspondents which President Coolidge did when he directed public interest to the Sixth Pan-American Conference at Havana. To the average newspaper editor it will doubtless appear a dull and technical gathering. But at this conference Frank B. Kellogg, as delegate of the United States, and Charles Evans Hughes, as co-delegate, face the hitherto unaccomplished task of satisfying the advanced arbitration views of twenty different Latin-American republics and simultaneously the decidedly different arbitration views of the United States Senate.

More of this conference later, however. First examine Kellogg's preparation for it.

He began, nearly four years ago, by evincing very little interest in things Latin-American. Although once as a delegate to the Fifth Pan-American Conference, he went to Santiago, Chile, where he took orders from Henry P. Fletcher, who as Ambassador to Italy now takes orders from him, Mr. Kellogg knew only in a general way that Latin America existed and that we sometimes had to send marines there. That was about all the interest he showed.

This was not surprising. He is a man of intense interests. When any one question arouses him, he concentrates upon it to the exclusion of almost everything else. As a boy of nineteen he concentrated on law.



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HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG, SECRETARY OF STATE

He had to sweep out offices and build fires and work in the field every planting and harvest season for \$13 a month, but these were details. Chiefly he concentrated on law. He concentrated upon it so diligently that he rose from Minnesota plow-boy to one of the most eminent lawyers of his time. When he became Secretary of State, therefore, he naturally continued to concentrate on the problems which interested him most.

At that time Europe absorbed him. He had just come from the Court of St. James's, where as Ambassador he had participated in the final conferences on the Dawes Plan and had signed the agreement of Paris on behalf of the United States. Reparations interested him and so did disarmament. During the meetings of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament and later at

the Three Power Naval Conference at Geneva, Mr. Kellogg amazed the gray-haired and veteran admirals who were called in for consultation, by reciting off tonnages and gun calibers and naval ratios as if he had spent most of his life on the bridge or in the engine room. His absorption in disarmament had behind it an intense desire, shared equally by President Coolidge, to complete the work of the Washington Conference by limiting cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

Rather indicative of the effect which Mr. Kellogg's power of concentration has upon the foreign relations of the United States, is the fact that almost immediately after the failure of the Geneva Naval Conference he began the work of renouncing war and the revision of our outgrown arbitration treaties.

Meanwhile, however, Mr. Kellogg has not been too absorbed in Europe to improve considerably our relations with China. That country has always held an interest for him. As a Senator from Minnesota, he had championed the Chinese cause when Shantung was being given to the Japanese at Versailles. When he was Secretary of State, therefore, and Great Britain proposed joint naval action against the Nationalist Government if proper apologies and amends were not made for the attack on foreign lives at Nanking in March, 1927, it was natural that Mr. Kellogg should sympathize with China. His sympathy went to the extent of refusing to send an identic note which the British and the American Minister in Peking, John Van A. MacMurray, both urged upon him. The note was never sent and as a result China not only signed with us an agreement granting all we had asked, but we won considerable trade away from the less sympathetic powers.

Direct Methods with China

Later, Mr. Kellogg went about the negotiation of a tariff treaty with China in his usual direct-method manner. Months had been spent by a large delegation of international experts in 1925 trying to decide how much duty China might levy on her imports of champagne, candlesticks, and chewing-gum, and what the money should be used for after it was collected. The conference came to naught. But a few months ago Mr. Kellogg quietly announced to the world that the United States had signed a new tariff treaty with China, granting that government the complete right to fix her own tariff rates as far as the United States was concerned. Later he announced just as quietly, but with equal world-wide reverberation, that the United States had given complete recognition to the Chinese Nationalist Government.

The renunciation of war was another illustration both of Mr. Kellogg's intense absorption in a given diplomatic problem and his success with direct-method diplomacy. During the negotiations, he took his diplomatic correspondence home with him. Late in the evening his advisors were frequently roused by their chief's impatient voice on the other end of the telephone. Mr. Kellogg virtually ate and slept with the problem of renouncing war.

Once in the middle of the negotiations,

when he was deadlocked, it was chiefly his direct-method diplomacy which saved him. Aristide Briand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, had practically rejected Mr. Kellogg's plan to renounce war. He had interposed four reservations which killed the spirit of the treaty. Up until that time, negotiations had been carried out between Mr. Kellogg and M. Briand alone. The other countries were merely spectators. Then it was that Kellogg resorted to direct-method diplomacy. He addressed his next note to the four other Powers of the world—Great Britain, Italy, Germany, and Japan. It was a powerfully worded note and it made a direct appeal to the entire world which could not be ignored. From that time on Mr. Kellogg had a support stronger than any foreign office could muster, and the success of the pact was assured. Few realize what truth there is behind Mr. Kellogg's remark that "it is doubtful if the treaty could have been negotiated between the ministers of the different governments in secret."

During the very early part of all this time, Latin America had been to Mr. Kellogg a detail. Its affairs were handled by bureau chiefs and career diplomats, and the Secretary of State gave no more time to them at first than he does even now to Eastern Europe and Near Eastern affairs, both of which are handled by executives thoroughly familiar with those regions of the world.

First-hand Clinical Experience

But Latin-American affairs directed by career diplomats did not prosper. This was partly due to the fact that the United States has won in Latin America a larger economic and strategic stake—and naturally, therefore, more frequent manifestations of ill-will—than in any other part of the world. It was due in even larger degree to the fact that Mr. Kellogg inherited in Nicaragua, Mexico, and Tacna-Arica situations pregnant with trouble and not of his own making. Very soon after he assumed office, these began to bear fruit. Although Mr. Kellogg then took them under his own direction, he did not immediately have the background of understanding of Latin-American affairs which he had gained in such full measure regarding Europe. So he learned Latin-American affairs through first-hand clinical experience.

There were certain disadvantages in this, and also some advantages. There was the

advantage of a fresh approach to the problem. There was the advantage of evaluating human factors more than legalistic factors. Mr. Kellogg's approach to the Tacna-Arica controversy, between Chile and Peru, was typical of this. From Mr. Hughes he had inherited a decision that a plebiscite must be held to decide the future sovereignty of the two provinces. The decision had been rendered because the Treaty of Ancon stipulated that a plebiscite was to be held, and Mr. Hughes had ruled that the treaty must be carried out.

Mr. Kellogg soon saw, however, that human factors—the prejudice and the hatred, the intimidation of voters, and the problem of transporting former residents back to the provinces—made the plebiscite impossible. Accordingly it was forgotten.

A Dispute About a Desert

He also saw that the two disputed provinces were only a large expanse of unproductive desert, with no mineral wealth and a scanty population. Therefore he concluded that the question was not one of material value but of national sentiment. Accordingly, with the help of the Chilean Ambassador, Carlos Davila, who controls half the press of Chile, he began working to change this sentiment. Editorials were published in the press of both countries. Delegations from Chile and Peru got acquainted at the Pan-American Conference. A prominent Peruvian, Victor Maurtua, made a special visit to Chile; and before long success had given Latin America a new confidence in Mr. Kellogg.

This confidence, however, is largely personal. It does not extend from Mr. Kellogg himself to any great confidence in the traditional arbitration policy of the United States. On the contrary, the Latin-American nations participating in the conference are confident that if the United States Senate adheres to its policy of vetoing unlimited arbitration projects, their work with Mr. Kellogg in this particular direction may not take them as far as other treaties they have concluded with Europe.

The difference between the North American and the South American position on arbitration is briefly this:

Latin-American nations have concluded more than twice as many unlimited arbitration treaties as have been negotiated on any other continent. The principle of arbitration began with them when they

were colonies of Spain, and it has been aided by the fact that their law codes are similar. Three countries—Brazil, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic—even have provisions for compulsory arbitration written into their constitutions. Finally, many of these treaties, twenty-three of them to be exact, require the arbitration of any and all disputes, even those involving national honor, domestic questions, and third parties.

Sham Arbitration Treaties

The United States, on the other hand, has never before negotiated with a Latin-American country a treaty which required the arbitration of disputes affecting "vital interests, the independence or the honor of the two contracting States." Furthermore, our Senate requires that before we arbitrate a dispute, a special treaty defining the terms must be concluded and ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. This allows the Senate to nullify any arbitration agreement, and, in the opinion of Theodore Roosevelt, it makes our arbitration treaties "shams."

"We had better abandon the whole business rather than give the impression of trickiness and insincerity which would be produced by solemnly promulgating a sham," Mr. Roosevelt wrote Henry Cabot Lodge when the Senate first inserted this amendment to what later became the Root arbitration treaties.

The arbitration record of the United States and Latin America further shows that we have refused many Latin-American requests for arbitration, while we in turn have demanded the arbitration of several cases in which we later repudiated our own citizens for having presented false claims. Always the refusal has come from the State Department, although with the apparent approval of the Senate. We refused, for instance, Colombia's request to arbitrate the fact that American warships would not allow Colombian troops to land in order to prevent the revolution by which Panama seceded for the purpose of leasing to us the Canal Zone. It was William Jennings Bryan, great advocate of conciliation and arbitration, who refused Huerta's request to arbitrate the question of a salute at Tampico in 1914.

Our Latin-American friends also know that the United States would under no circumstances arbitrate the question of marine intervention in Nicaragua or the

marine control of Haiti. Such arbitration, they know, would seriously modify the corollaries to the Monroe Doctrine, explained by Mr. Hughes as giving the United States the right to intervene in any Latin-American State where American lives and property are in danger.

Thus it has been suggested that Latin-American nations pledged in the past to arbitrate any and all disputes, and the United States willing in the past to arbitrate a much more limited scope of disputes, are faced with the prospect of inevitable deadlock.

A Hope for Progress

This, however, is not a completely balanced deduction. Mr. Kellogg, since the last arbitration treaties were concluded with Latin-American nations, has signed much more progressive agreements with Europe which no longer exclude disputes affecting "vital interests, the independence or the honor of the two contracting States." These treaties now exclude only questions of a domestic nature, those affecting third parties, and disputes involving the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. He is ready to extend equally progressive arbitration to the Latin-American countries, although whether or not they will be satisfied with the exclusion of disputes involving the Monroe Doctrine and its corollaries remains an unknown and major question which only the conference can answer.

In three additional and important phases of arbitration we have made even further progress. First, we agreed at Buenos Aires in 1910 to the compulsory arbitration of all claims for pecuniary loss or damage which may be presented by the respective citizens of Pan-American States. Even more important, the United States Senate, in ratifying this treaty on February 1, 1911, inserted no amendment requiring its advance approval of each application for arbitration.

Further, we signed at Santiago in 1923, and subsequently ratified, the Gondra Con-

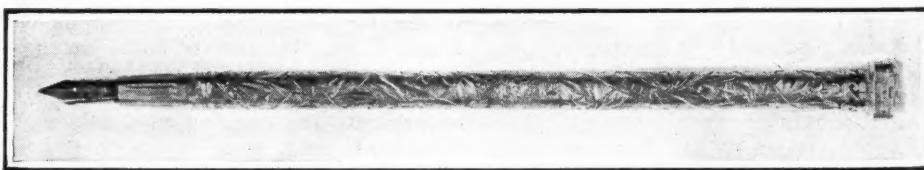
ciliation Convention by which all the contracting American republics agree to a total cooling-off period of eighteen months before they shall go to war over any dispute. During this period a conciliation board investigates and reports upon the question at issue. Although the acceptance of its report is not obligatory, the value of the agreement is in its application to any and all disputes.

Finally, the American republics at Havana drew up and adopted seven conventions of public international law and an extensive code of private international law embodying 437 articles. This presents, perhaps, one of the most important opportunities for the Pan-American Arbitration Conference. The resolution adopted at Havana, authorizing the conference, provides that there shall be left open "a protocol for progressive arbitration." To such a protocol it would seem possible to add from time to time types of disputes regarding which international law was clearly defined, and which the American nations therefore would agree to arbitrate.

Distrust of Foreign Tribunals

It is conceivable that the United States or other nations might refuse to submit to a foreign judge any question when there existed no international law upon which that judge might base his decision. But the international law once having been defined and agreed upon, the question becomes a tangible and concrete case for arbitration.

Thus Mr. Kellogg, as his last work as Secretary of State, has an opportunity at the Pan-American Arbitration Conference not only to expand the principle and practise of conciliation, but to create a live and responsive instrument for the growth and development of types of disputes which may gradually be transferred from conciliation on the one hand to compulsory arbitration on the other.



THE GOLD PEN WITH WHICH THE PACT OF PARIS WAS SIGNED

Presented to Secretary Kellogg by the municipality of Le Havre, France, this pen was used by all the original signers of the treaty, in the Clock-Room of the French Foreign Office on August 27 of this year.

The Renunciation of War

BY HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG

Secretary of State

The American Secretary of State returned in September from Paris, where he had witnessed the signing of what is known as the Kellogg Treaty or the Pact of Paris. The document condemns and renounces war, and it has now been accepted by sixty nations. Mr. Kellogg chose the tenth anniversary of the Armistice which ended the greatest war in all history as the occasion for explaining this treaty to the people of America and for answering some criticisms that had been raised. He delivered the following address before a Good Will Congress assembled in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York on the afternoon of November 11; and it is printed here from an official copy, by special arrangement with the Secretary, in order to promote the wide and careful reading that the subject and the statement itself deserve.—THE EDITOR.

THE best way to abolish war as a means of settling international disputes is to extend the field of arbitration to cover all juridical questions, to negotiate treaties applying the principles of conciliation to all questions which do not come within the scope of arbitration, and to pledge all the nations of the world to condemn recourse to war, renounce it as an instrument of international policy, and declare themselves in favor of the settlement of all controversies by pacific means. Thus may the illegality of war be established in the world as a principle of international law.

There is one other means which can be taken by governmental authorities, and also by private organizations like yours throughout the world, and that is to inculcate into the minds of the people a peaceful attitude, teaching them that war is not only a barbarous means of settling disputes but one which has brought upon the world the greatest affliction, suffering, and disaster. If the people are minded that there shall be no war, there will not be. Arbitration is the machinery by which peace may be maintained. It cannot function effectively unless there is back of it a popular will for peace.

I cannot go into detail concerning all the steps which have been taken to extend the principles of arbitration and conciliation as a part of the machinery for the maintenance of peace. In a general way, I can say that when I came into office I found

that on account of the war many of our arbitration treaties and treaties of amity and commerce had lapsed, and that many of the boards of conciliation under the Bryan treaties had become incomplete or vacant through death or resignation. These boards have been filled and there are now in force nineteen of the original Bryan treaties, among the signatories being included many of the principal nations of the world. We have already negotiated five new treaties and are negotiating many more. We have negotiated with many countries a new arbitration treaty for the settlement of all juridical questions which is an advance over the old form of treaty.

Latin America Moves to Avoid Wars

In Central and South America practically all the countries have signed and ratified a general conciliation treaty, to which the United States is a party. Under this treaty, in the event of failure to settle a dispute by diplomatic means or arbitration, the signatory nations agree to submit it to boards of conciliation for examination and report and not to go to war for a reasonable time pending such examination. Furthermore, pursuant to a resolution of the Pan-American Conference held in Havana in January and February 1928, the United States has called a conference on arbitration and conciliation of all the states parties to the Pan-American Union to be held in Washington on December 10. Thus it

will be seen that the United States and the nations of all Central and South America are taking steps to extend the principles of arbitration and conciliation.

It is evident that there is a great forward movement all over the world and a growth of an enlightened sentiment for the settlement of international controversies by means other than the arbitrament of war. I might mention in this connection the Locarno treaties and many others negotiated in Europe as well as in Central and South America. Probably no part of the world has made such progress in arbitration as Central and South America, and certainly none where the sentiment for peace is stronger and consequently where there is less danger of the outbreak of war.

The World Accepts the Peace Idea

Arbitration and conciliation are appealing more and more to the imagination of the peoples of all nations. I deem this movement of surpassing importance in the advancement of world peace. When all nations come to the conclusion that their disputes can best be settled by diplomatic means and, when these fail, by arbitration or commissions of conciliation, the world will have made a great step forward. I realize that treaties of arbitration and conciliation have existed for many years and that in spite of them there occurred the greatest war of all history. But this should not be a cause of discouragement, because to-day world sentiment is stronger for such means of settling international disputes than ever before. I realize also that there are many political questions which cannot be arbitrated, although they may be settled by conciliation. I know that national jealousies and ambitions and racial animosities often are the causes of war. These causes of conflict can be eliminated through education, through the development of tolerance, and through the creation of an effective desire for peace.

In addition to these means of insuring universal peace, I know of but one other step, and that is a treaty solemnly pledging all the nations of the earth to condemn recourse to war, to renounce it as an instrument of their national policy towards each other, and solemnly to declare that the settlement of international disputes, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, shall never be sought except by pacific means. This leads me to the discussion

of the multilateral anti-war treaty lately signed in Paris.

Expanding M. Briand's Suggestion

As you know, the original suggestion of this movement came from Monsieur Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, in a proposition to the United States to enter into a bilateral treaty with France to abjure war as means of settling disputes between them. The American Government believed that this grand conception should be extended to all the nations of the world, so that its declaration might become a part of international law and the foundation stone for a temple of everlasting peace. I need not discuss the details of this negotiation, which lasted more than a year. All notes exchanged between the nations upon this subject were published from time to time as they were sent by the various powers. It seemed clear that no treaty of such world-wide importance, so affecting the peoples of all nations, marking so great a forward step, could be taken without the support not only of the statesmen but of the press and the people of the world themselves, and, as you know, the multilateral anti-war treaty was negotiated in the blazing light of full publicity.

The announcement of the purpose to negotiate such a treaty was at first met by much skepticism, the expression of which soon ended because it was drowned in the voice of the people of all nations strongly supporting the movement. The consummation of the treaty was not the work of any single nation or of any individual. It is doubtful if such a treaty could have been negotiated between the ministers of the different governments in secret. I did not attempt it. Neither did Monsieur Briand. We could not have succeeded. And the reason for this is that the treaty is the expression of the hope of millions of people in the world to-day. It came from the visualized expression of the desolated battle-fields, from ruined homes and broken men, and it stirred the great beating heart of humanity.

Is there any wonder that there should be in this modern and enlightened age a world-wide protest against the horrors of war? We are but ten years removed from the greatest calamity of all time. No one can portray the desolation, death, or the misery and sorrow inflicted by that last conflict. As we look back over the ages on the gradual

growth and advancement of our civilization, is there any wonder that the people now demand some guarantee for peace?

In the negotiation of this treaty I had the hearty coöperation of the statesmen of other countries, of President Coolidge, of statesmen of all parties, and of publicists throughout the United States. It was not a political move. I consulted with Senators and Representatives and public men, the sanest and wisest of our time, and I can say without the slightest doubt that the treaty meets the matured judgment of the people of the United States.

A Treaty of Two Sentences Only

It was an impressive sight when representatives of fifteen nations gathered around the historic table in the French Foreign Office and solemnly pledged their governments before the world to renounce war as an instrumentality of their countries, agreeing to settle all international disputes by pacific means.

The treaty is a simple and plain declaration and agreement. It is not cumbered with reservations and conditions stipulating when a nation might be justified in going to war. Such a treaty, if attempted, would fail because of the complexity of national aspirations and the wide difference of conditions. It contains but two articles, as follows:

Article 1. The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article 2. The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

There are some matters which have been the subject of press comment which I desire to discuss. I have been asked why we did not attempt to negotiate the treaty with all the nations of the world and make them original signatories. The reasons are these: It was my opinion that to attempt to negotiate a treaty with over sixty nations would entail so much discussion and so prolong the negotiations as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to sign a treaty and obtain its ratification within a reasonable time. Furthermore, if any one country failed to ratify, the treaty would not go into effect, thereby postponing the matter

for an indefinite period. It seemed to me best to select the principal nations of Europe, the seat of the last war, where there was perhaps more danger of conflict than anywhere else, and Japan in the Far East, and to negotiate with them a treaty which would be open to adhesion by all the nations of the world. I felt sure, after very careful consideration, that a treaty satisfactory to those powers would be readily accepted by the others.

There were two additions to the six original powers involved in the negotiation, the British Dominions and India and the additional powers parties to the Locarno treaties. The British Government, for example, stated that the proposed treaty from its very nature was not one which concerned His Majesty's Government in Great Britain alone but was one in which they could not undertake to participate otherwise than jointly and simultaneously with the Governments in the Dominions and the Government of India, and suggested that the United States invite those Governments to become original signatories. This was done, and the Dominions and India promptly and readily accepted the treaty and signed at the same time as the British Government.

Locarno Nations Included

In the course of the discussion, France raised the question of whether the proposed treaty would in any way conflict with the obligations of the Locarno treaties, the League of Nations, or other treaties guaranteeing neutrality. My reply was that I did not understand the League of Nations to impose any obligation to go to war; that the question must ultimately be decided by each country for itself; that if there was any similar obligation in the Locarno treaties, the United States would agree that all of the powers parties to the Locarno treaties should become original signatories of the present treaty. Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia therefore were brought in as original parties because they were the only signatories to the Locarno treaties outside of the nations included in the negotiations of the anti-war treaty.

The following countries were parties to the Locarno treaties: Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. The treaty contained a clause undertaking not to go to war, and if there was a flagrant violation by one of the High

Contracting Parties, each of the other parties undertook immediately to come to the help of the party against whom such violation or breach was directed. It, therefore, was simply a matter of law that if any of the parties to the Locarno treaties went to war in violation of that treaty and were at the same time parties to the multilateral treaty, they would violate this treaty also; and that it was a general principle of law that if one of the parties to a treaty should violate it, the others would be released, and would be entirely free and under no obligation to take any action unless they saw fit.

Sixty Nations and No Reservations

For these reasons the Locarno powers became original signatories, and all the nations agreed that under these circumstances no modification of the present treaty was needed. It was my expectation that if the treaty was signed, it would be readily adhered to by many, if not all, of the other nations. My expectations have been more than fulfilled. Up to the present time sixty nations have either signed the treaty as original parties, or have adhered to it or have notified the Department of their intention to adhere to it. It is my belief that all the nations of the world will adhere to this treaty and make it one of the principles of their national policy. I believe that this is the first time in history when any treaty has received the approval of so many nations of the world.

There are no collateral reservations or amendments made to the treaty as finally agreed upon. During the negotiation of this treaty, as in the case of other treaties, questions were raised by various governments and discussed, and in many of my notes I explained the legal effect or construction of the treaty. There is nothing in any of these notes, or in my speeches sent to the signatory powers during the negotiations, which is inconsistent with, or changes the meaning of, the treaty as finally signed. Finally the countries were satisfied that no modification of the treaty was necessary to meet their views.

To illustrate: The question was raised as to whether this treaty prevented a country from defending itself in the event of attack. It seemed to me incomprehensible that any nation should believe that a country could be deprived of its legitimate right of self-defense. No nation would sign

a treaty expressly or clearly implying an obligation denying it the right to defend itself if attacked by any other country. I stated that this was a right inherent in every sovereign state, and that it alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require resort to war in self-defense. If it has a good case, the world will applaud it and not condemn it, but a nation must answer to the tribunal of public opinion as to whether its claim of the right of self-defense is an adequate justification for it to go to war.

In the discussion of the treaty I noticed in one or two instances a criticism that by recognizing the right of self-defense, the treaty had been greatly weakened—that if a nation should go to war claiming that it was acting in self-defense, the mere claim must be accepted by the peoples of the world, and that therefore the multilateral treaty does not change the present juridical position. I cannot agree with this criticism. As I have already stated, a nation claiming to act in self-defense must justify itself before the bar of world opinion as well as before the signatories of the treaty.

World Opinion to Judge an Aggressor

For that reason I declined to place in the treaty a definition of aggressor or of self-defense because I believed that no comprehensive legalistic definition could be framed in advance. Such an attempt would have led to endless difficulty. For years statesmen interested in preventing war have tried to frame definitions of "aggressor" and "the right of self-defense" in an attempt to prevent conflicts between states. They have failed to accomplish this object. Furthermore, technical definitions are easily evaded by a nation which desires to go to war for selfish purposes.

It therefore seemed best simply to make a broad declaration against war. This would make it more difficult rather than less difficult for an aggressor nation to prove its innocence. If there is a narrow, legalistic treaty definition as to the meaning of self-defense or of aggression—and such a definition would be very difficult, if not impossible, to make in advance—the nation making war might well find justification through a technicality far easier than if it had to face a broad political examination by other signatories of a simple anti-war treaty in the light of world opinion. The mere claim of self-defense is not going to justify

a nation before the world. Furthermore, I do not believe that any tribunal can be set up to decide this question infallibly.

To attempt to negotiate a treaty establishing such a tribunal would meet with endless difficulties and the opposition of many nations. I am certain that the United States and many countries would never have become parties to a treaty submitting for determination to a tribunal the question of the right of self-defense; certainly not if the decision of the tribunal was to be followed by the application of sanctions or by military action to punish the offending state. I know there are men who believe in the lofty ideal of a world tribunal or super-state to decide when a nation has violated its agreement not to go to war, or by force to maintain peace and to punish the offender, but I do not believe that all the independent nations have yet arrived at the advanced stage of thought which will permit such a tribunal to be established.

Why Wait for a Perfect World?

Shall we postpone world agreements not to go to war until some indefinite time when the peoples of the world will have come to the conclusion that they can make a sovereign state subservient to an international tribunal of this kind?

Shall we take no step at all until we can accomplish in one single act an entire revolution in the independence of sovereign nations?

I have the greatest hope that in the advancement of our civilization all peoples will be trained in the thought and come to the belief that nations in their relations with each other should be governed by principles of law, and that the decisions of arbitrators or judicial tribunals and the efforts of conciliation commissions should be relied upon in the settlement of international disputes rather than war. But this stage of human development must come by education, by experience, through treaties of arbitration and conciliation and solemn agreements not to resort to war.

How many centuries have passed in the upward struggle of the human race to substitute government and law for force and internal conflicts in the adjustment of the rights of citizens as between each other. Is it too much to hope for the ultimate realization of this grand idea in the adjustment of international as well as personal

relations, as a part of the great movement of world advancement? The last war certainly gave an impetus, and it is for this reason that I believe the time has come for united world denunciation of war.

"Denying the Benefits"

Another question which has been raised in connection with the treaty was as to whether, if any country violated the treaty, the other parties would be released from any obligation as to the belligerent state. I have no doubt whatever of the general principle of law governing this question and therefore declined to place in the treaty a reservation to that effect. Recognition of this principle was, however, included in the preamble, which recites that the parties to the treaty are "Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated; convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of peaceful and orderly process and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty."

What were the benefits to be furnished? An unconditional agreement not to go to war. This is the recognition of a general principle that if one nation violates the treaty, it is deprived of the benefits of this agreement and the other parties are therefore necessarily released from their obligations as to the belligerent state.

No Means of Enforcement

I have seen from time to time claims, on the one hand, that this treaty is weak because it does not provide the means for enforcing it either by military or other sanctions against the treaty-breaking state, and, on the other hand, that through it the United States has become entangled in European affairs and, while under no express obligation, is under moral obligation to join other nations and enforce the treaty by military or other assistance.

Neither of these positions is correct. I know that men will differ on the question of whether it is better to provide sanctions

or military agreements to punish a violator of the treaty or military alliances to enforce it. But whatever the merits of this controversy may be, as I have already said, I do not believe the United States or many nations in the world would be willing to submit to any tribunal to decide the question of whether a nation had violated this treaty or irrevocably pledged themselves to military or other action to enforce it.

My personal opinion is that such alliances have been futile in the past and will be in the future; that the carrying out of this treaty must rest on the solemn pledges and the honor of nations; that if by this treaty all the nations solemnly pronounce against war as an institution for settling international disputes, the world will have taken a forward step, created a public opinion, marshaled the great moral forces of the world for its observance, and entered into a sacred obligation which will make it far more difficult to plunge the world into another great conflict. In any event, it is not at all practical for the United States to enter into such an obligation.

We Remain without Entanglements

It has also been said that the treaty entangles us in the affairs of Europe. I cannot understand why such an argument should be made. It no more entangles us in the political affairs of foreign countries than any other treaties which we have made. If, through any such fear, the United States cannot take any step toward the maintenance of world peace, it would be a sad commentary on our intelligence and patriotism.

But, it is said, we are under moral obligations, though not under binding written obligations, to apply sanctions to punish a treaty-breaking state or to enforce its obligations. No one of the governments in any of the notes leading up to the signing of this treaty made any such claim, and there is not a word in the treaty or the correspondence that intimates that there is such an obligation. I made it perfectly plain, whatever the other countries might think, that the United States could not join in any such undertaking. In the first speech I made on the subject, which was afterward circulated to the nations, I said: "I cannot state too emphatically that it (the United States) will not become a party to any agreement which directly or indirectly, expressly or by implication, is a mili-

tary alliance. The United States cannot obligate itself in advance to use its armed forces against any other nation of the world. It does not believe that the peace of the world or of Europe depends upon or can be assured by treaties of military alliance, the futility of which as guarantors is repeatedly demonstrated in the pages of history."

I believe that for this same reason Great Britain and some of the other nations of Europe rejected the treaty of mutual assistance. Whether the Locarno treaties will be construed as agreements to apply sanctions, I cannot say; but whether they are or not, I do not believe that it is possible to enforce such a treaty. I know of no moral obligation to agree to apply sanctions or to punish a treaty-breaking state unless there is some promise to do so, and no one can claim that there is such a promise in this treaty. It is true that some of the press in Europe have indicated that the United States will now be under some moral obligation to do so, and these speculations have been echoed in the press of this country. But no government has made any such claim, and press speculations can certainly not be called a part of the treaty.

There have been, of course, expressions of gratification on the part of European statesmen and journalists that the United States is again taking an interest in European affairs and is willing to aid in the furtherance and maintenance of peace. I, for one, believe the United States has always had a deep interest in the maintenance of peace all over the world. Why should not our Government and our people feel a deep interest in this question? In modern times no great war can occur without seriously affecting every nation. Of course the United States is anxious for the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the people of Europe as well as of the rest of the world. Because we did not approve of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations in all respects, it has been assumed by some that we no longer take any interest in Europe and world affairs. I do not accept this as a just estimate of our national character and vision.

Idealists—But Not Visionary

By some this grand conception of a world pledge for peace is considered visionary and idealistic. I do not think that all the statesmen of Europe and of the world who have solemnly pledged their nations against

the institution of war can be called visionary idealists. Idealists they are, of course. Idealists have led the world in all great accomplishments for the advancement of government, for the dissemination of learning, and for the development of the arts and sciences which have marked the progress of this age.

Today, probably more than at any time in recorded history, there is a longing for peace, that we may not again go through the horrors and devastation of a world war. I am sure that the people of this country are willing to try this last and greatest step, the solemn pledge of peoples and of nations. I cannot believe that such a declaration, entered into, not in the frenzy of public excitement but in the cool deliberation of peoples, can fail to have a world-wide moral effect. I believe that this treaty is approved by almost unanimous sentiment in the United States and in the world. Such approval means advancement in the ideals of government and of civilization.

Of course, I know there are some who criticize it either as an attempt to accom-

plish too much or too little. Against these men I have no complaint. I have always been pleased to have the treaty discussed in all its phases with the greatest freedom, and I am willing to submit it to the matured judgment of all the world. I believe it is the bounden duty of the United States in every way possible, by its example, by treaties of arbitration and conciliation, and by solemn pledges against war, to do what it can to advance peace and thus to bring about realization of the highest civilization.

France and the United States pointed out to other nations a hopeful pathway to world peace. The other nations have gladly joined France and the United States and have agreed to follow that path with us. Whether or not we reach our common goal depends not so much upon governments as upon the peoples from whom their power flows. I believe in the people. I have confidence in mankind, and I am happy that I have been privileged to participate in the conclusion of a treaty which should make it easier for men and women to realize their long-cherished ideal of peace on earth.

Compulsory Arbitration in the Americas

LAST January and February there was held at Havana the Sixth International Conference of American States, attended by representatives of twenty-one Western republics, for the purpose of promoting international accord and to arrange uniformly peaceful means for the settlement of such disputes as might occur. At that time two important resolutions were adopted by the delegates, both looking to the complete outlawry of war.

Gonzalez Roa, a Mexican delegate, offered a resolution prohibiting all wars of aggression, and advocating the employment of peaceful means for the settlement of disputes. This was adopted at the last plenary session of the conference, on February 18.

The other resolution advocated compulsory arbitration, adding that the conference should reunite at Washington within

one year to give conventional form to the realization of this principle. This was adopted on February 17, at the suggestion of Charles Evans Hughes, chairman of the American delegation at Havana. Incidentally, resolutions adopted by these Pan-American conferences have no binding force until their provisions are ratified by the various States in treaty form. The conference adjourned on February 20.

On December 10 the delegates meet again at Washington to perfect practical machinery for the settlement of inter-American controversies, resuming the good work undertaken at Havana last year. Mr. Hughes and Secretary of State Kellogg will head the American delegation, and all the Latin-American powers have accepted invitations to attend.

The main work of the Washington conference will be the drafting of a multilateral

treaty of compulsory arbitration, acceptable both to Latin-America and to the United States. Dr. Alfaro of the Panama delegation at Havana put forth a plan whereby arbitration was to be compulsory except in controversies which involved constitutional provisions of one of the States concerned, or in disputes which might jeopardize the independence of a State. His project provided for six types of tribunals, ranging from a single arbitrator to the World Court, and followed many of the advanced arbitration treaties between individual South American countries, which are nearly unlimited in their compulsory features.

Mr. Hughes, however, stated that these exceptions of the Alfaro plan were vague, and open to varied interpretation. He said at the time: "From the standpoint of the United States there are few questions that could not be claimed to involve constitutional provisions, if you say that all the powers and functions for which the Constitution provides are the subject of exception." And he suggested that progress might be furthered by the separation of legal from political disputes, making for speedy settlement of the former.

The United States Senate has always insisted upon the right to exercise a final veto in matters of international arbitration, and it is highly unlikely that it will be willing to relinquish this right. But any treaty which contains a provision that the agreement shall be subject to Senate ratification can hardly be considered a "compulsory arbitration treaty." Yet, will any treaty which omits such a stipulation receive the approval of the Senate? Furthermore, the Senate has always insisted upon excepting from arbitration questions arising under the Monroe Doctrine, and this fact must be remembered by the American delegates at the conference.

After the Havana affair, Costa Rica asked the League of Nations for a precise definition of the Doctrine. A non-committal answer was received. According to Mr. Hughes the Doctrine is opposed to non-American encroachment on the political independence of any American State, or to the acquisition of territory by any non-American power in this hemisphere. And he adds that there is not the slightest objection to other American countries having similar doctrines of their own for the pro-

motion of their own security and that of their neighbors.

Aside from the Monroe Doctrine, according to Mr. Hughes, the United States has the right to protect American lives and property when governments have ceased to function properly—whether Europe is threatening intervention or not. However, at a meeting of the Commission of American Jurists at Rio de Janeiro in 1927, Argentina, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Paraguay all went on record as opposed to intervention in the internal affairs of other States. At the Havana Conference no agreement was reached on this important point, and it will probably be brought up again at Washington.

Gustavo Guerrero, chairman of the Salvadorian delegation, presented a resolution against all such intervention at Havana, but Mr. Hughes then replied: "What are we to do when government breaks down and American citizens are in danger of their lives? Are we to stand by and see them killed because a government in circumstances which it cannot control, and for which it may not be responsible, can no longer afford reasonable protection?" International law, he added, justified such intervention, and international law could not be changed by the resolutions of a conference. Following this speech the Guerrero resolution was withdrawn, but if it is reintroduced at Washington, American delegates will undoubtedly follow the Hughes lead of last February.

This Washington Conference will have to decide on some type of tribunal before which disputes may be submitted for arbitration. A Pan-American Court of International Justice has been suggested as a sort of regional institution which would not interfere with the obligations of those states belonging to the League of Nations, but rather would fit within its framework as it carries on the League's prime objective—the pacific settlement of disputes. Various sorts of tribunals have been advocated in this connection, but which of them may prove most practicable it is for the Conference to decide. It is to be hoped that machinery will have been devised for the orderly airing of all manner of difficulties within the Western Hemisphere by the time the assemblage of distinguished international lawyers and diplomats seeks adjournment.

Outworn Political Survivals

BY VICTOR ROSEWATER

Former Chairman, Republican National Committee

NOW that another presidential campaign is over, our wonder need not be suppressed how so many archaic survivals can endure, or be endured. While we are boasting rightfully of progress and efficiency in every field of activity, why should we not take account of the deadwood encumbering our political stock-in-trade?

In the first place, there are our nominating conventions. Let us not here raise the question of relative advantage, or wisdom, of the convention system as against the direct primary, or some other plan of projecting candidates. Let us merely recall that the conventions are nothing but spectacular shows whose artificiality so obtrudes that, for accomplishing their purpose, their usefulness is blunted if not destroyed. The convention is notoriously an every-four-years prize award pulled down by some energetic city with a pull and a purse. Accessibility and accommodations for the convenience and comfort of delegates count little, as witness this year's experience.

A Performance for the Press

Once located, for a consideration, the moral obligation to bring a compensatory crowd to the convention city, and to keep it there long enough to permit of reimbursement, calls for a program prepared primarily to consume time. Could not the tedious keynote addresses of temporary and permanent chairmen well be omitted, with "leave to print"? Does any one swallow the fulsome praise of nominating speakers without many, many grains of salt? Is any one fooled by the made-to-order demonstrations? Are any delegates' votes changed by convention-hall oratory?

Is it not a fact that all the business usually transacted in the average presidential convention cou'd be as well, or better, done within a two-day session, perhaps most expeditiously in one day? Candor would concede that the whole performance is cast

especially for the benefit of the reporters in the press seats, the photographers in the gallery, and the radio announcers in the broadcasting booths.

Then come the notification ceremonies. A committee made up of half a hundred members from every State and territory and island possession, trailed by the horde of newspaper correspondents, movie men, and political camp-followers, crosses the continent to listen to a speech of acceptance. As if the candidate does not know he has been nominated! As if he had not already sent a telegram to the convention amplifying or amending the platform declaration on which he is to stand! As if he had not been in telephone communication with his floor managers while the convention was in progress to advise them of his preference, or lack of preference, for a running mate.

Relics of Post-chaise Days

The acceptance speech is a development as much as a survival. Originally the nominee was content to receive notice without delay from the officer who had presided over the convention and to express his appreciation in a few words, adding later, at his leisure, a letter outlining more extensively his views on the current issues. If the candidate must get a speech out of his system, the fiction of formal notification surely is not needed to justify it.

It has been suggested by Dr. Albert Shaw that holding the conventions too far in advance of the election is responsible for an unnecessarily long, diverting, and expensive campaign, and that the remedy lies in postponement till September. In this he is eminently correct. The June or July nominating convention is another survival of horseback and post-chaise period when it took weeks to assemble delegates from the far corners of the country. All the preliminaries of delegate-choosing could be carried through easily in a month, and a

September nomination would leave ample time to canvass the voters.

If any one doubts the feasibility, look at the conduct of elections for European parliaments, and particularly to Great Britain. A few weeks serve to dissolve, elect and reconvene the British Commons. No time whatever is wasted there on nominations, the candidates being pre-designated by the party organizations and, in fact, already busy with the constituency almost from the conclusion of the preceding elections.

No Valid Reason for Delay

Continuously operating party machinery is an essential condition of the scheme, whereas we build a new machine quadrennially on a lavish scale for a sixty-day spurt and then put it in storage. Election laws in most of our States, moreover, are fashioned to fit the traditional nomination calendar, to change which would require no little legislative tinkering and itself take considerable time. The obstacles, however, constitute no valid reason for not attempting such a worth-while reform.

Outgrown or out-of-place survivals permeate our whole campaign structure, sometimes coming into sharp collision with modern invention and present-day business methods. The need of real money to finance the political education of 40,000,000 voters is coming to be recognized, and the silliness of trying to raise it in petty contributions is apparent. Yet the appeal still goes out for one-dollar bills on the theory that the vote will follow the dollar, instead of vice versa, though over and over again such solicitations have failed to bring sufficient returns to pay for the paper, printing, and postage. And the self-delusion is kept up that folks will chip into the political pot from purely altruistic motives, without hope or expectation of reward outside of the general good. They do this job better abroad.

The charlatanism in our campaign publicity should be discarded, but to predict its early demise would fringe upon lunacy. The system seems to be too firmly entrenched and nowhere has the propaganda artist been given such free rein. The display is at its worst in the constant outpour

of claim-all proclamations, chickens counted long before they are incubated. I recently went over the newspaper files as far back as 1896 to scan the statements given to the press, on the eve of the voting, by the chairmen in responsible charge of the opposing campaigns and enjoyed a hilarious half hour. A move to de-bunk our campaign literature would hit a popular chord.

Hardly less flagrant are the impositions of the speaking department. Most of the talk indulged aims merely at breaking into print through the newspaper. The number of converts to be credited to the entire army of stumpers—I except so-called head-liners—would not employ an adding machine many minutes. The oratorical caravan continues to obtain audiences with greater and greater difficulty, because it is an anachronism in an era in which radio, movie, and newspaper are the high-powered trio.

Penalizing the Voter

Correspondingly outgrown, and calculated to impede rather than facilitate intelligent voting, is our average code governing registration and elections. We lament the menacing numbers of the stay-at-homes while we do everything we can to stop them from attending the polls. In many localities, requirements for registration proceed as if every applicant were a guilty "phantom," colonizer, repeater, or ballot-box stuffer, until he prove himself innocent. The questions propounded and data recorded resemble Bertillon examinations for a rogues' gallery, stopping short only of finger-prints.

We hear talk of imposing fines upon electors failing to do their duty, but we are actually levying fines disguised as poll-taxes on them for exercising the franchise. "Poll-tax can be purchased at the time and place you register," reads my notice. We compel the voter to travel long distances repeatedly in order to register and to receive a ballot with whose complicated make-up he must struggle, knowing others are waiting impatiently for him to finish. All this survives today only because the initiative and courage to install a more workable and less burdensome mechanism are still inert.



A Bad Year in Europe

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. British Maneuvers

THE year which closes with the current month must be reckoned the most disappointing since 1923. Actually the post-war decade divides itself naturally into two equal parts. During the first five years conditions steadily worsened, arriving finally at the crisis precipitated by the occupation of the Ruhr. Throughout the year 1923 the ruin of Europe seemed not only possible but well-nigh inevitable.

Happily the turn came at the right moment, and with the Conference of London in 1924 and the formulation of the Dawes Plan the change was rapid. The application of the Dawes Plan in the late summer of 1924 saved Germany at the eleventh hour. The next year Locarno brought a political pacification as necessary and as complete as the financial, which had resulted from the Dawes Plan. In 1926 Germany entered the League of Nations and there was a notable extension of economic coöperation between France and Germany, which continued through 1927.

Nevertheless it is in 1927 that one notes the approach of a change; and the actual starting point is unquestionably the Coolidge Naval Conference. The failure of this conference insured the subsequent failure of the League of Nations to take any effective steps in the direction of disarmament, at its annual meeting in September. This disappointment was accentuated by the failure of a later disarmament conference in the spring of the present year.

Meantime, the unfinished questions of the peace settlement began to crop up. Germany demanded some relief from an occupation which to German minds became unnecessary on the signing of the Locarno Pacts. She also demanded the fixation of the term and the amount of her reparations payments. Evacuation and reparations

were pressed to the fore, and at the same time the British and French press began to agitate anew for the revision, if not the cancellation, of interallied debts. Two debates were thus opened; one between Germany and her European opponents of the war, and the other between the Allies and the United States.

In this situation the British cabinet, dominated by the naval influence, which is strong in the Tory party, undertook a maneuver which may easily prove to have been at once the most dangerous and the most decisive of post-war adventures. Having to choose between finding some compromise with the United States on the naval issue and carrying on the struggle to establish the British thesis, the British Government fell back upon the precedent of pre-war years and undertook to gain the support of various continental powers, this time directed not against Germany but against the United States.

Naturally the purpose of the British cabinet was not to create an alliance with the express idea of preparing for an eventual war with the United States. No idea of war was even vaguely in the British mind. What was sought was the support of various European states in the Disarmament Conference itself. In other words, the British deliberately set out to secure the support of continental states against the American thesis in the disarmament debates.

Such an operation required far-reaching concessions on the British side. It was necessary first to enlist France. But to get France it was essential to give Paris an assurance that London would support the French against any effort on the German side to force evacuation without meeting French conditions. Up to this time British public sentiment and even

official sympathy had been markedly favorable to an early retirement from the Rhineland, and the Germans had counted on British support to this end.

But abruptly the British press which reflects the official mind took a new note. Before and during the last Assembly of the League at Geneva, British official support was manifestly insured to the French; and this explains the brusque and almost savage tone which was adopted by Briand. All hope of British pressure exerted upon France to hasten evacuation was destroyed, and the revulsion of feeling in Germany was enormous.

Almost without warning Europe was brought face to face with the fact that France and Great Britain were acting together as completely as in the pre-war years, when the Entente Cordiale was one of the vital factors of the European balance of power. Moreover, in advance of the Geneva meeting, Sir Austen Chamberlain announced that the British and French governments had reached an agreement upon the question of naval strength and naval ratios. His announcement was significantly timed to coincide with his acceptance of the Kellogg Pact.

The British Government long concealed the facts of the Anglo-French compact. But disclosure was inevitable, and in advance of official publication it was discovered that at the basis of the new understanding was an acceptance by the British of the French thesis that trained reserves were not to be counted in estimating military strength. The new agreement amount-

ed to a mutual recognition of vital interests. France was to support the British naval program, and Britain the French military thesis. Britain was to be supreme on the sea and France on land.

Thus Great Britain was assured, in any disarmament conference in the future, that not only France, but Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, with Belgium as well, would stand behind the British contention in its naval dispute with the United States. We were accordingly condemned in advance to appear, if not alone, practically without support, in our campaign for naval limitation on the basis of the Washington agreement. For all practical purposes England had succeeded in organizing the League against us.

As early as the Coolidge Conference the British press had begun a campaign against the American program. Skilfully the idea was established that the United States was seeking to snatch naval supremacy from British hands, and that our whole naval plan represented no more than a new adventure in dollar imperialism.

Furthermore, when negotiations between France and Great Britain led to the bargain between the two Powers to accept each other's desires in the naval and military fields without question, the French press began to give tongue to the same sort of suspicions and innuendos directed at American naval proposals. The American desire for equality was represented as an unwarranted bid for supremacy, and Britain's old question "Why does the United States need a big fleet?" was echoed in France.

II. Spreading Anxieties

The American Government, meanwhile, had rejected the British naval proposal, as any one outside the walls of Bedlam must have known in advance that our Government would. But the British had destroyed all chance of any real limitation of armaments in Europe. For it is manifest that the exclusion of trained reserves from the number of troops counted in reckoning armed strength is as absurd as making a distinction between a gun actually carried and one hanging on the wall awaiting the will of its owner.

The consequences of British maneuvers are now fairly clear. In the first place, the

French—certain of British support—have adopted a far more intransigent attitude in the matter of reparations and evacuations. Poincaré has reverted to the preposterous figures of the Treaty of Versailles, which fixed German liability at \$33,000,000,000. He is back now where he was in the days before the Ruhr occupation, using the same tone and the same manner, with a ministry reorganized last month.

Evacuation of the Rhineland is not to take place except as Germany consents to pay to France enough to satisfy the United States, Great Britain, and the French, who supplied the money for the rebuilding

of the devastated area. No one knows exactly what such a sum would amount to, but it would certainly be close to \$300,000,000. As the French are entitled to something more than half of the total payments of Germany, this would mean that the Germans would be bound to pay between \$550,000,000 and \$600,000,000 annually for the sixty years during which France and Britain must pay the United States.

Such a sum is held ridiculously large not only by all German but by many American and British experts. But the Germans have two cards. They are held by the treaty only to payments for thirty years, and are protected by the Dawes Plan against any payments which may threaten the stability of their currency. By contrast the armies of occupation can stay on German soil until 1935, and naturally every German is prepared to make certain sacrifices to free German territory.

Nevertheless, the British strategy with respect of naval ratios has wrecked the whole reparations prospect, because it is necessary first of all, in any settlement, to enlist American aid. Even if the United States continues to refuse to consider cancellation or reduction of the Allied debts, any bond issues based upon German railways and industries will have to be floated on the American market; and the Armistice Day speech of the President indicates that he has no intention of assenting to such a utilization of American capital under present circumstances.

But Europe is in a real quandary. Germany demands evacuation. A Republican cabinet supported by the Republican majority in the Reichstag chosen at the last election, is appealing to Paris and London for some help against a Nationalist reaction, which is setting in as a consequence of the failure of the Müller cabinet to get any concessions from the Allies. Something must be done to prevent an overturn in Germany which would wreck Stresemann, sabotage Locarno, and end for a time at least all attempts at reconciliation between Germany and her conquerors. Moreover, the situation is complicated by the fact that German reparation payments, this year amounting to \$625,000,000, are in excess of German capacity to pay, and can be met only if the United States should continue to supply Germany with the necessary funds in the shape of further loans.

Something has to be done; but nothing

can be done without the United States. For the moment it is possible to quiet agitation by naming a committee of experts. These experts will take as long a time as possible in considering the question, and then will undoubtedly report that some reduction of reparations is necessary. But Poincaré has declared in advance that the reduction cannot affect French demands. So it will have to be very small and can serve only as a momentary relief.

Meantime, while the Anglo-French agreement has aroused American resentment and suspicion, it has literally set Europe by the ears. The Germans declare that the British, having by the Locarno Pact undertaken to maintain a *status quo* as between France and Germany, have now broken faith altogether and gone over to the French. The Nationalists, who were almost "down and out" as a result of the last election, are gaining ground daily and returning to the charge against Locarno, the Dawes Plan, and all ideas of reconciliation and co-operation.

Nor are the Italians less angry. For them the French success in landing British support is the deadliest blow Mussolini has sustained in foreign affairs since the march on Rome. In the Italian mind the new Anglo-French entente destroys Italian security in the Mediterranean, as it abolishes Italian prestige in the Balkans. Italy is again isolated, faced on the continent by the network of French alliances, which insure French supremacy; faced on the sea by the Anglo-French association, which dooms all Italian aspirations alike in North Africa and western Asia.

But the *malaise* goes much farther. All Europe recognizes that the Anglo-American naval deadlock and the Anglo-French military agreement combine to make futile any further discussion of the limitation of armaments. The control of the continent is actually vested in the armed States—in fact, in the hands of France and her two Slav Allies, Poland and Czechoslovakia, which can mobilize upwards of four millions of trained troops in two weeks. Moreover, a third Slav State, with a powerful army, Jugoslavia, would certainly stand with France against any Italian challenge. Italy is thus caught between France and Jugoslavia, Germany between France and Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In any discussion of disarmament at the League, Great Britain is now bound in

honor to support the French thesis that trained reserves do not count. Germany, moreover, being forbidden by the treaty to train her youth, would be restricted to a total military force of not more than 200,000 in the face of four millions of Slavs and French. And all chance of naval limitation breaks down in the face of the French and Slav support of any thesis the British may choose to advance.

Limitation of armaments, if not actual disarmament, is the chief task of the League of Nations. It is more or less the touchstone of League success or failure. From one end of Europe to the other, unrest and dissatisfaction are taking shape in very

definite criticism of the failure of Geneva to achieve precisely the result which the world has the right to demand of it. Thus the present situation is damaging the prestige and influence of the League all over the world.

On this side of the Atlantic one must not overlook the fact that the responsibility for this European condition is squarely laid at our door. It is the general European conviction that our naval imperialism has brought about the crisis. Europe is used to the idea of the supreme British fleet. We are the guilty nation. We are preventing peace in Europe and blocking success at the League of Nations.

III. The Crisis Reached

It is clear, then, that Europe is in full crisis. It is also clear that this crisis cannot long be protracted. Something must give somewhere along the line. Either the result of the last few months will show itself in the return to a stable equilibrium based upon the old doctrine of the balance of power, or the combination which the British have constructed with so much diplomatic ingenuity will collapse and, in some fashion of its own, Britain will manage to get clear of its present French commitments and start all over again.

Recent speeches of Baldwin and Cushing-dun indicate that the latter course will be followed. Before many months there will be a general election in Great Britain. In that election Tory defeat is likely. Almost inevitably a Tory defeat would be followed by a Liberal-Labor coalition cabinet. And at least in foreign affairs both the Liberal and Labor parties are as one and see the French situation with the same eyes.

Thus, if MacDonald were again Prime Minister, he would be sure to throw over the agreement to support the French military thesis, at the same time releasing the French from their naval pledge. British policy would then once more revert to the support of the idea of early evacuation of Germany and to the reasonable reduction of reparations. It would seek a new basis of agreement with the United States.

On the other hand, it would be idle to imagine that the Labor party will accept the American thesis as to parity. There is not an Englishman, Labor or Tory, who

regards the American claims as justified in right or reason. Labor would certainly support a program of limitation, but it would not venture to accept the American case, while it might propose some agreement to drop all questions of comparison and follow independent programs.

But the real activity of a Labor Government would be directed at the European situation rather than the American. The present crisis, while having nothing of the acute, is beyond question the most serious since the Ruhr days. The whole process of European reconciliation and readjustment has come to a dead stop. There is more suspicion and bitterness in the air than at any time since Locarno. Disappointment and disillusionment are common if not universal.

It is absurd to build upon this scaffold any forecast of war. There is no real danger of war in Europe to-day, because the people of all countries remain war-weary and the finances of no State would sustain even the shortest of conflicts. What is grave is the fact that the whole campaign to establish peace on a lasting foundation has ended for the time being in an *impasse*.

The hope or the illusion that permanent peace was attainable is giving way to the conviction that war is the inevitable destiny of the unhappy European continent. And nations and governments are taking positions with an eye to the future conflict. Armies are being reorganized, systems of defense are being developed, preparations are being made, all with an idea of eventual

conflict. Insensibly Europe is slipping back into its pre-war mentality.

To a considerable extent the responsibility for this situation must rest with Great Britain and the United States. The failure of the two Anglo-Saxon countries to find any basis of agreement for their respective naval strengths has acted as an immediate and enormous stimulus to all the military elements on the Continent. It has smashed the theses of the champions of disarmament and conciliation.

But it has been even more disastrous since it has deprived both the United States and Great Britain of the smallest influence at Geneva or elsewhere in the discussion of disarmament. Hitherto both the American and British voices have been raised, not without a certain measure of influence, in the cause of the limitation of armaments. Now, when we and the British cannot agree on any method of limiting our own navies, what influence can we have in persuading the French or the Poles to limit their armies or agree with the Germans about some standard of equality?

If the Anglo-American quarrel over naval strength continues, all disarmament in Europe will be indefinitely postponed, if not permanently adjourned. But if Europe cannot hit upon some system of limitation of armaments which will satisfy the needs of all States for security without arousing the fears of any, then, as the years pass and the financial and economic conditions on the Continent improve, we are doomed to see another race in armaments leading to the same combinations and alliances which preceded the catastrophe of 1914.

Moreover, if the British stick to their present policy—that is, if they continue to invoke the balance-of-power doctrine against us by making a combination with France—they will naturally continue to be bound by French military wishes. Of

course, no one thinks that the British have attempted or would attempt to make an Anglo-French combination with the idea of fighting the United States. That is mere moonshine. The objective is not victory in war but success in conference.

If the British strategy had worked out as it was planned, we should have found ourselves isolated in the Geneva disarmament conference, faced by a united Europe, pronounced guilty of preventing European disarmament and reconciliation. And our case would have been presented as the more indefensible because it rested upon a purpose to seize naval supremacy.

The British plan broke down because public sentiment in Great Britain was against it. The Liberal and Labor press and leaders were more nervous about the French army (and particularly the French air force) than about the American navy. To revive the Anglo-French Entente was to revive all the pre-war circumstances. It was to insure the division of Europe into rival alliances again. It was to make certain that one day Germany would turn to Russia or to Italy and seek to set up her own combination. Moreover, for a long period of time at least, it was to insure French military domination of the Continent.

To the Liberal and Labor parties this was too stiff a price to pay for support against the United States. It insured the wreck of the League of Nations, the end of all conciliation with Germany. British European policy was to be subordinated to French, simply to obtain French support against the United States in all discussions of naval limitation. As a consequence there was an explosion, which has pretty well wrecked the bargain with the French. But it has not made it easy, even if possible, for any British representative in any international gathering to revert to the old thesis that trained reserves must be counted.

IV. Congress and the Cruiser Program

For a long time to come the British maneuver on the European front has paralyzed disarmament. It has also compromised British prestige, because, following the recent association with France, Britain cannot at once change sides without inviting criticism, while to remain with France is to intensify the opposition at home.

Meantime the American Congress is about to meet, and President Coolidge's speech confirms the belief that the naval program must be its chief concern. Needless to say, all Europe will watch the session with eager interest. If Congress adopts the pending program, the Continent will accept this as conclusive proof that a considerable

period of Anglo-American rivalry is at hand.

Europe, to be sure, will in the main sympathize with the British, but sympathy will not disguise the conviction that Anglo-American naval competition constitutes a grave and perhaps a permanent lowering of British power.

If Congress fails to put the program through, Europe will just as clearly see a British victory and conclude that the American naval program was pure bluff, as many British have alleged. In that case British prestige and influence will be greater than at any moment since the close of the war. Moreover, within the British Isles the navy group, who dominate the Tory party, will declare themselves vindicated and count the Coolidge Conference another Trafalgar.

As far as the United States is concerned, it seems to me beyond question that the moment is decisive. We have now to decide whether we are prepared to insist upon parity, as we understand parity. In that case we are certainly condemned to build a great many ships, because there is not the slightest chance that the British will accept any American view of parity one day sooner than that state actually exists. If we desire parity on our terms, we must fight for it, not with guns but with money.

The President and his advisers were long under the illusion that it would merely be necessary to indicate the purpose to build ships to bring the British to terms. Geneva showed the fallacy of that conclusion. Since Geneva there has been an impression that the effect of that failure upon American opinion would serve to change British views. But that also has proved a failure, and the maneuver of the British Government in approaching France and making the recent bargain has disclosed this fact.

If we are resolved to seek parity we must expect not merely British opposition but European criticism. With the possible exception of Germany, Russia, and Italy, all three for very different motives, Europe is likely to take the British end of the dispute. But to insure continental support the British will have to stand with France and her allies in the chief issues which are now being raised and center about Germany. Thus any Anglo-American naval rivalry is bound to paralyze European reconstruction—as it has already done.

A change in government in Great Britain

would affect the situation. Undoubtedly the navy influence would be infinitely less controlling in a MacDonald cabinet; but even a Labor cabinet would insist that American parity would have to be attained by building, and it would just as certainly resist any American proposal which rested upon the basis of global tonnage and thus insured to us supremacy in the cruiser line through the possession of the larger number of 10,000-ton cruisers.

Nevertheless, a Labor cabinet would have to choose between America and France. It could not at one time quarrel with the French over the various German issues and with the United States over the naval question. It might reverse the present order, but that is all. France, on the other hand, could easily revert to the American thesis in the matter of cruisers, which was formerly the French thesis. This would immensely complicate the British situation in any disarmament conference, for France would be supported by her Slav allies.

Obviously the variations which might follow are many; but what is really important is that until this issue is once decided, either by negotiation or by construction, disarmament is out of the question. It is useless for British and American representatives at a disarmament conference to undertake to persuade France or Poland to reduce their armies while the two Anglo-Saxon countries are expanding their navies. And, with the American and British voices silenced, who is there to argue for disarmament outside of the defeated and disarmed countries?

I confess that personally I can not avoid a sense of profound disappointment over the seemingly inescapable consequences of the Anglo-American dispute. During the many months which I spent in Europe last autumn and spring, I found everywhere the same conviction that the whole progress of peaceful adjustment had been interrupted by this difference. I do not now see any chance of escaping further and still more disastrous consequences. I have talked with a great many Englishmen, belonging to all parties and representing all elements in the population, but I have found nowhere any acceptance of the American point of view or any recognition of the moral right of the United States to a strong navy.

The belief in the right of the British

nation to naval supremacy is born with the average Englishman. He can not conceive that there exists a reasonable being who could dispute this right. The fact that the United States demands parity seems revolutionary. I confess that very few Englishmen with whom I talked showed any heat or passion in the matter. Rather there was the same anxiety to convince the wandering American of the extreme and utter irrationality of the American thesis. I gathered that there was a national conviction that thanks to our youth and inexperience we had fallen into a grievous error, but being decent people, at least by origin and derivation, we should presently see the right; and meanwhile the proper treatment for us was courtesy and nice consideration for our inflamed feelings.

Their navy people feel that they must hold out at all costs, that they would be false to their service and to their country if they permitted the loss of British supremacy. It is a religion with them. They have many interpretations of our course. Some feel that we are bluffing, others that the expense will tire us, still more that even if we get the ships we shall not be able to get the men. But all agree that there is only one thing to be done, and that is never to accept the American view of parity.

Therefore it is a mistake to believe that the agreement upon a program of fifteen ships will accomplish anything. The pur-

suit of parity is bound to be long and expensive. On the other hand, the notion that in resisting our claims the British are thinking in terms of war is preposterous. If we finally establish parity the British will accept it and make the best of it. If we go even to the length of what seems to them superiority, they will not go beyond building to counteract this.

At the same time any Tory Government will certainly follow the example of the Baldwin cabinet and maneuver against us on the continental field. We shall constantly have Europe lined up against us, as it is now on debts, the navy, and reparations. That is a part of the game, as the British Tory sees it. And beyond any question the League of Nations will serve as an admirable muster-field, for the British are always there and we never.

If we choose to play them, we have all the cards. If we refuse to permit the sale of German securities in our markets, reparations settlement is impossible. If we restrict our loans to Germany, German payments will presently decline. But in playing the cards we are bound to consolidate Europe against us, not in any military sense but in all others. Meantime Europe is waiting on Congress, and in fact the whole European show has been waiting upon a decision in the Anglo-American naval dispute for more than a year. Since many European issues can not wait, conditions have gone from bad to worse.

V. Disquieting Signs Abroad

While the Anglo-American naval dispute and the various German issues centering about reparations and evacuation have dominated the European discussion, it would be idle to ignore the fact that in many other directions there have been disquieting signs. Throughout the year there has been a steady growth of the movement for the union of the German and Austrian republics. This agitation for the *Anschluss* has produced apprehension and protest alike in Paris, Prague, and Warsaw. It has contributed to harden French determination not to leave the Rhine, and it has raised once more the old specter of German domination.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the Austrian experiment is working out badly. Econom-

ically Vienna remains prostrated, the prey of a Socialist majority which in turn is faced by the conservative majority in the country. Civil war has been threatened, and the growing sense of unrest and uncertainty naturally stimulates the desire on the part of all but the radicals for security, which could alone come with a union with Germany, now solidly against any radical experiment.

While the *Anschluss* issue has again come to the fore, there has been no lessening of the tension over the Polish frontiers. All attempts to arrive at a commercial treaty between Poland and Germany, and thus end a long and expensive tariff war, have failed. This war is proving more expensive to the Germans than to the Poles, but the

Prussian agrarians are holding out and so far have managed to retain the support of the government. The German resolution to force a revision of the eastern frontiers has not diminished in the least, but on the other hand the Polish determination to maintain the status quo has hardened.

Looking to the Balkans, it is clear that Italy, with some success, is endeavoring to create a *bloc* which shall counterbalance the French combination based upon the Little Entente—that is, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania. Albania has become little more than an Italian protectorate. Hungary and Italy have indulged in a violent flirtation, and Mussolini has gone to the extent of endorsing the idea of a revision of the Hungarian frontiers. But no revision is possible save following war, because the Little Entente is solidly aligned against it.

Greece, meanwhile, under the lead of Venizelos, who has returned to power after a long exile, has taken a clearly pro-Italian turn. The reason is the insistence of the Jugoslavs upon some sort of political right at the port of Salonica. The quarrel is one of long standing, and it has served to bedevil all Greco-Serb relations for years. Salonica is the natural port of all the south of Serbia. In any war between Jugoslavia and Greece it would be the single safe harbor through which Jugoslav munitions might be imported.

But the Greeks, not without a certain measure of justice, are afraid of Jugoslav designs upon the port. Thus, despite the old quarrel over the Dodecanese and the still recent Corfu affair, Greece has come to terms with Italy. Italian influence is also discoverable in Sofia, although even Mussolini might find difficulty in driving Greeks and Bulgarians in the same harness.

The evil in all this is clear. Two great powers, France and Italy, between which the tension is constant, have drawn to themselves Balkan allies. Moreover, the tension between Albania and Jugoslavia is so acute that anything might happen; and any incident would bring Italy and France into direct collision. It would also involve Czechoslovakia and Rumania on the one hand, and Hungary and perhaps Greece and Bulgaria on the other. All of which is unpleasantly reminiscent of 1914.

As to Franco-Italian relations, they have again become very bad in principle. While there is no acute issue at the moment, there

is a bad temper, which would give to any incident an importance which is unmistakable. A war between France and Italy is to-day almost unthinkable, but Italian hatred of France passes anything which existed between any two peoples in 1914.

This hatred is rendered the more acute because the French have won all the tricks. They have North Africa and a vast colonial empire besides. With no larger European population than Italy, they have sixty millions of peoples in their colonial empire, vast areas, and, what counts most, almost unlimited sources for recruiting black troops. Alarmed, too, by the Italian menace, the French are putting Corsica and Tunis in shape to resist invasion and are strengthening their garrisons and forts on the Italian frontier.

What has hurt most in Italy has been the treaty of friendship between the Jugoslavs and the French. This gesture, an answer to the Italian treaty with Albania, gives clear announcement of French purpose to defend the southern Slavs. It affords just the same sort of protection which Russia gave the Serbs in 1914, and it might have the same consequences. Italy is caught between French and Slav military forces, and would have to wage a war on two fronts as Germany did in 1914.

The climax of all Italian rebuffs has been the recent Anglo-French naval compact, because it utterly destroys every Italian hope of an alliance with Great Britain and against France. France has enlisted British support for her military program, on the one hand, and has retained her partnership with the three Slav States, whose armies, together with the French, insure continental hegemony.

Fascism's foreign policy is based upon prestige. The primary plank in the Fascist platform is the pledge to restore to Italy her ancient position as a world power. But although Mussolini has succeeded in creating a great machine at home, he has accomplished little abroad. All efforts, both at London and at Berlin, to make some sort of alliance have failed. The present Tory government in England is Francophile beyond exaggeration. No German government could enlist popular support for any Italian alliance as a consequence of what the Germans regard as the Italian breach of faith in 1914.

Fascist foreign policy has, then, despite incidental successes, resulted in a larger

failure. It has openly challenged French position, and the result of the challenge has been unlucky. The conviction that Italy, because of French opposition, does not obtain her rightful position in the world, is universal in the Peninsula, and it is the most dangerous state of mind existing in Europe today. It could lead to an explosion at any moment, and what is even more to be feared, some Balkan incident might start a fire that even Mussolini would be unable to control.

In the north the relatively minor issue of Vilna serves to prevent any real adjustment. Poland and Lithuania are in a state of war, not in the military sense but in all others. The frontiers are still closed, the Niemen River is barred to Polish lumber, and Vilna and the whole district about it are suffering acutely as a result of this virtual blockade. So far the Poles have managed to win the approval of Europe by their self-restraint and reasonableness, but there is always danger that Pilsudski may lose his temper and take things in hand in a military fashion. If he should, both Germany and Russia would be instantly involved.

It is, then, with real anxieties that European statesmen look forward to the new year. It must bring important decisions, because many issues cannot wait. If agreement is not reached on the question of evacuation, and reached in time to insure that the third as well as the second zone is cleared by January 1, 1930, the reaction in Germany may go very far. A similarly serious crisis would follow failure to adjust reparations problems. But at the moment all hope of cooperation among France, Germany, and Great Britain seems adjourned.

The British are in for a bitter and doubtful political campaign, and while it lasts foreign affairs will necessarily be pushed into the background. If it ends in a change in government there will be a period of readjustment. In any event, actual leadership in Europe has for the time being returned to the hands of Raymond Poincaré, and he is clearly reverting to type. His very real achievement in the field of domestic finance has given him a prestige

which so far has enabled him to push Briand into the background and substitute the Ruhr method for that of Locarno.

Finally, the prestige of the League of Nations is at the lowest point since the notorious Corfu incident. The collapse of the disarmament conferences, the failure to modify the situation affecting Vilna, and the obvious inability of the League to do anything to mitigate the dangers in the Balkans, have served to awaken new doubts and to weaken old hopes. Thus it is hard to escape the conclusion that a bad year is ending badly, with disquieting signs discoverable in all directions.

As I close this article we are getting the first repercussions in Europe both of the results of our election and of the Armistice Day speech of the President. Beyond any question Europe as a whole was disappointed with the vote, because it saw in Smith the promise of a change and in Hoover the certainty of a continuation—and even an intensification—of the foreign policy of the present Administration. And in Mr. Coolidge's speech it sees the confirmation of its worst fears.

The support of the naval program and the warning of official opposition to new foreign loans must be equally disturbing. No one should be misled by the first reports that the British are satisfied with the speech. They are not and cannot be, because it at last demonstrates that we mean to have parity, and for the naval group this spells disaster. As for the matter of loans, if the policy the President foreshadows is pursued, all existing arrangements for dealing with reparations fall to the ground.

Mr. Hoover's South American trip must also give rise to further unattractive speculations, for it suggests that his interest will not be in Europe, and his attention will be directed elsewhere. In the face of these circumstances European opinion will not at once blurt out its resentment, but in my judgment we are in for a period of unpopularity and even unfriendly criticism. Once more Europe is bound to face the fact we are not going to do what was expected of us and our decision has very awkward implications in the existing situation.





TRAVELING INTO THE SUNSET ABOARD THE "GRAF ZEPPELIN"

What of the Airship?

BY EDWARD P. WARNER

Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Aeronautics

Five in the afternoon at Lakehurst. Untold thousands of spectators had been on hand the day before, and all who could had returned to continue on Monday the vigil begun the previous day. A dot appearing on the northern sky just above the horizon—a dot that gradually enlarged, elongated in form—became an airship the length of a city block. Then it paused over the landing field, and descended gradually and easily to earth while orders were shouted and greetings exchanged in English and in German.

It was a crowd of many motives that fringed the edge of the landing area and awaited the chance to swarm upon it. Some were there to welcome friends. Several hundred had come on business, in the practice of the journalistic craft. Many more had come merely to see a show, and they saw it and departed content. But whatever the reason that brought him there, no one with a spark of imagination could

fail to be stirred by a sense of essential novelty in the whole proceedings. That afternoon of October 15 something new was coming upon the earth.

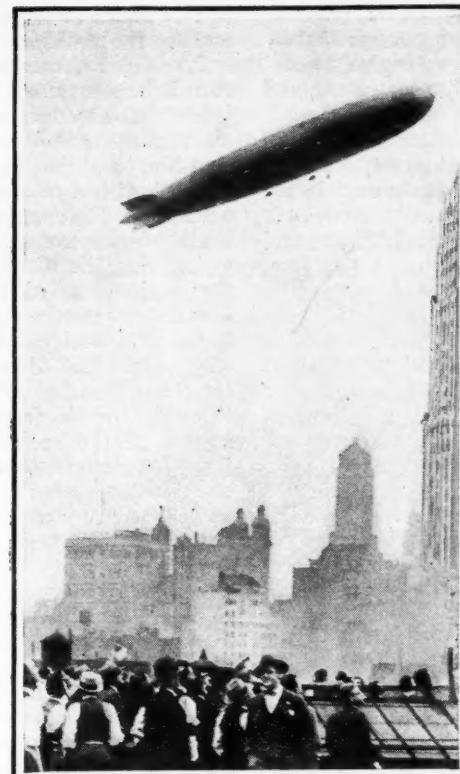
Some of us who were there had stood in other crowds or had anxiously remained in telephonic communication with telegraph offices, waiting for word of transoceanic aviators who never came. Airplane after airplane had been launched in a desperate gamble with fate, and the sea had swallowed up their secrets. Two-thirds of all the pilots to dare the North Atlantic passage in two years past had failed to attain their goal, and a great part of them had left no hint of the place or manner of their tragic disappearance. Were all aerial crossings of the Atlantic to be lumped together and considered on a par, the chances were all against the success of any particular one.

But the *Graf Zeppelin* was coming. For days no one had seriously doubted it. We were uncertain about her location, about her

speed, about her hour of arrival; but except for a brief period of anxiety when the ship's fin had suffered damage of unknown extent in a squall off Bermuda, we entertained no uncertainty about her ultimate safe arrival at Lakehurst under her own power.

In that confidence, which was not confined to airship enthusiasts but disseminated itself through the newspaper community established at Lakehurst and to all the spectators, lay the greatest triumph. It was by that impressive demonstration of the airship's ability to get through consistently on transatlantic voyages, coming on top of a long series of tragic episodes with heavier-than-air craft attempting the same crossing, that the *Graf Zeppelin* flight marked the opening of a new epoch in commercial navigation. The airship comes before the public with that successful voyage surmounted by a safe return to Germany in substantial adherence with schedule, and the fact has claimed such interest and attention as the American public has never given to lighter-than-air craft before, unless it were on the sad occasion of the loss of the *Shenandoah*.

Public interest connotes the desire for information and generates the demand for prophecy. The greater part of the rigid airship's record has been obscured for American people by the mists of war secrecy and war feeling. Between the time when Europe went to war and the day of the Armistice there were built and operated approximately 100 rigid airships. Since November 11, 1918, there have been completed a total of about seven. At no time during that period have there been more than three ships in really active service,



THE "GRAF ZEPPELIN" OVER NEW YORK

and frequently only one. Experience has accumulated slowly, and derogatory opinions formulated in 1917, often on a basis of very incomplete or inaccurate information, have persisted.

The actual fact is that of all the Zeppelin ships that have been built since the indomitable and stubbornly persistent old German count set himself, more than thirty years ago, at the task of creating the giant airship which he had conceived, about a third have deliberately been scrapped as obsolete or were surrendered or were destroyed at the time of the Armistice, while another 40 per cent. were destroyed by allied airplane

attacks or gunfire from the ground during the war. Nearly half the remainder were broken up in handling on the ground or accidentally burned in their hangars, frequently as the result of using unskilled crews or of attempting to operate under the stress of war when conditions were admittedly dangerous.

There remain only 19 per cent., or an actual total of 21 ships, which have met disaster in flight or been badly damaged as the indirect result of exhaustion of fuel or other incidents directly related to the operation of the ship in the air. Only four of the 21 were disasters causing large loss of life. Half of them were the direct result of special conditions existing in war. Of the last 25 ships built during the war, only two met with accident in flight or on landing. There has never been a structural collapse of a Zeppelin ship in flight, and in 13 years there has been only one fire in the air, except as the result of enemy attacks. Given the inflation of the gas-bags with helium, as in American ships, and the

liability of fire is enormously reduced. Given the replacement of gasoline fuel by heavy oil burned in a Diesel engine, a prospect of the comparatively near future, and it virtually disappears.

The record is certainly not a discreditable one. Against it must be set, of course, our own unhappy early experiences. In the whole history of rigid operation there have been but two major structural failures, and the United States Government has been deeply concerned with both of them. The airship *R-38*, which broke up during preliminary trials in England in 1921, with great loss of life, was a British vessel which had been sold to the United States. The *Shenandoah*, which met its fate in a storm over Ohio in the fall of 1925, was an American-built adaptation of a war-time Zeppelin design. Both in Great Britain and in this country those mishaps cast a shadow on the name and the idea of rigid lighter-than-air craft, and it took real boldness for naval officials to advocate and for the Congress of the United States to accept, within a few months after the loss of the *Shenandoah*, a program for further construction of airships to be of larger size and power than anything previously attempted.

The German people, in the meantime, had never lost confidence in the airship, but stipulations laid upon their country under the Treaty of Versailles prohibited any activity in airship construction or operation for a number of years. From 1920 down to the time of the building of the *Graf Zeppelin*, the Zeppelin factory had but one opportunity, when the *Los Angeles* was built as an incident to the reparations settlement, to exercise the art that had made it famous.

From 1921 to 1928 airship activities have been much in the doldrums, with the United States doing most of what operating has been done. At the close of 1928, with the *Graf Zeppelin* in service and already proven by a round trip over the Atlantic, with two ships of distinctly new design and 30 per cent. larger than any previously flown nearing completion in England, and with another pair, each 30 per cent larger again than the British vessels, just contracted for by the United States Navy and to be built in this country, we are facing a period that promises continuous progress and a very intensive acquisition of knowledge through experience. It is a favorable occasion upon which not only to survey the past of the airship, but to look critically

and in detail to its present status and to analyze the problems that await solution.

It will clear the understanding of the layman if he remembers that the term "dirigible" has now been officially put aside in all English-speaking countries in favor of "airship," and that the approved word was selected with a nice sense of etymological accuracy. The analogy with the steamship is one of exceptional precision. It is quite logical that the Navy should find itself in the business of airship operation. One vessel floats on the water, the other floats in the air. Both are navigated in the same way. Both are driven by power units remote from the bridge and controlled through the intermediary of indicator signals to the engineer on duty at the throttle. Seamanship and airmanship have much in common. Both are more at home in their native medium, be it the air or the surface of the water, than in contact with the ground.

If this analogy—and especially the last of its phases just enumerated—be borne in mind, the problems of handling an airship on the ground appear less terrifying than when the natural mistake is made of comparing airship and airplane. In contrast with the easy process of landing an airplane and taxiing it up to its place in front of the hangar, the docking of a rigid airship appears crude, unwieldy, and impractical. Compare it with the coming into port of an ocean liner of the dimensions of the *Leviathan* or *Majestic*, with a dozen tugs puffing valiantly against her sides to warp her into place, and even the present methods of manhandling an airship, with a crew of two or three hundred on the ground to do the work, appear less formidable and alarming.

Present handling methods are by no means satisfactory, but it will continue to be the case that the airship is a long-range vehicle requiring properly equipped ports for her reception. There will always be a certain amount of formality about getting a big craft into the air and onto the ground again, precisely as it is a more arduous task to dock a 50,000-ton liner than a harbor ferry-boat, for which little more is required than that she bang her nose against the pier at the end of each trip.

The airship is like the liner in general dependence upon knowledge of the storms and in the necessity of recognizing and humoring the vagaries of the elements. No

ship captain drives his vessel at full speed into the heaviest seas that he ever encounters. He eases the power of his engines and he may change his course to lessen the shattering impact of the waves. In precisely the same way, the airship captain must sometimes—as Dr. Eckener did on both of his Atlantic crossings—reduce speed to reduce stress when weather conditions are severe. He has to endure the buffeting of only one element instead of two, of wind alone instead of wind and waves together; but his is a far fraileler structure than that which travels the surface, and must be treated with corresponding tenderness. Many a shipwreck has been avoided by the captain's skill when awkward handling would have precipitated it, and the structural safety of the airship will depend no less upon the training and the qualities of the men chosen to command than upon the design and structure of the ship itself. Like the captains of great liners of the present day, they will come out of a long and hard schooling and they will have shown themselves unquestionably fit by trial before the lives of passengers and crew and the safety of a ship and her goods are entrusted to their care.

The airship captain will have one great advantage over his maritime confrère, and especially over the skipper of a ship of the pre-radio days of a generation ago. The airship can outrun the storm. Given information about existing weather and forecasts by radio, it becomes possible for the captain to deviate from his course even by several hundred miles, not merely to avoid undue stresses on his ship but to find favoring winds that will speed him to his destination. Both on the transatlantic voyage of the *Los Angeles* in 1924 and on the recent westward trip of the *Graf Zeppelin*, a course greatly elongated in miles flown was chosen because of the belief of the commander that it would be the shortest in hours in the air.

As one of the most experienced of airship pilots has put it, the wise airship captain will pick his way in and out among

mountain ranges, but the mountains with which he must deal have no permanently recorded contours, for they are the "highs" and "lows" upon the weather map. The science of the weather has made great progress in recent years, and it has become a practicable and reasonable procedure to take its lessons into account in mapping a transoceanic course, precisely as the commander of a small coastwise vessel now



THEY DISCUSSED AIRSHIPS

Dr. Eckener with two of our air officials: the author of this article, Edward P. Warner, Assistant Secretary of the Navy (left), and F. Trubee Davison, Assistant Secretary of War (right).

hesitates to leave port when the storm-warning flags are being flown.

The analogies between the airship and surface ship multiply themselves indefinitely. Conspicuous among them is the dependence of the performance and range of both classes of craft upon their size.

In a vehicle gaining its support by its motion, a class of which the airplane is the outstanding example, there is no inherent change of efficiency or performance with change of size. Supporting force and air resistance both go up in proportion to area. If the weight, wing area, power, and fuel capacity of an airplane all be doubled, the speed and maximum distance which can be flown will, everything being equal, remain as before.

It is not so with the surface ship and it is not so with an airship, depending, like the surface vessel, on buoyancy for its flotation. In those cases, the weight carried depends on the *volume* displaced, while the resistance to motion is proportional only to the cross-sectional *area*. The largest liners are, generally speaking, the fastest.

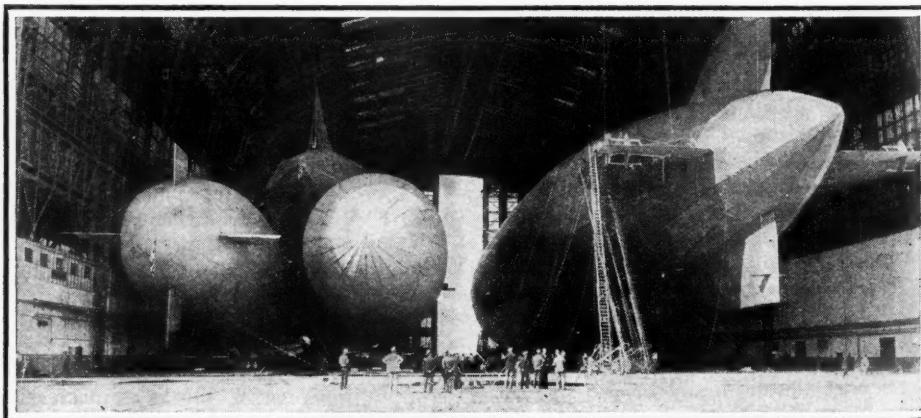
Every reader interested in naval matters will recall that the naval officials of the United States attach especial importance to the building of cruisers up to the limit of size permitted by the limitations of arms treaty, because our naval bases are few and far apart and only by increasing the dimensions of the ship to the limit permissible can we combine the necessary speed with a sufficiently long radius of action. Tiny motor-boats, to be sure, have attained fantastic speed, but only by putting themselves in the airplane class, driving over the top of the water rather than through it, and only by sacrificing all pretense of useful load or of any other desirable qualities than sheer velocity.

Essentially the same rules govern the airship. If weight, power, and fuel capacity all be doubled in an airship, as in the hypothetical airplane already described, performance does not remain constant. The maximum speed of the ship increases approximately one-eighth as a result of the change in dimensions and without exacting any increase in efficiency or any other changes whatever. At the same time the maximum radius of action at a reduced cruising speed would be augmented by about one-quarter.

The step up from a ship the size of the *Los Angeles* to one the size of the new craft just contracted for by the Navy would in itself—even if there had been no improvements in efficiency of form or constructural refinement as a result of the study of the airship art over the last five years—suffice

to put the maximum speed up from 70 to 83 miles an hour and the cruising radius from 5,000 to 7,000 miles. Actually the improvement will be greater than that, for the general art has not stood still, but it is easy to see why such stress has been laid, in all airship-building countries, on the desirability of increase in size, and why the progress has been so rapid from the 2,470,000 cubic feet of the *Los Angeles*, through the 3,800,000 of the *Graf Zeppelin*, the 5,000,000 each of the new British ships, and on to the 6,500,000 which each of the new American vessels will display.

Steady increase of size in the quest for greater commercial and military capacities aggravates the difficulty of mooring the airship and handling it on the ground. The problem is twofold. A ship can either be anchored, without exterior assistance, or it can be brought up into a dock by the efforts of many tugs. For the airship there is, at least as yet, nothing quite analogous to anchorage at sea, but there must be provided some sort of open-air mooring requiring only a fixed installation and but little man-power to make a landing. Furthermore, we must devise means of applying mechanical power to the task of getting into and out of the hangar. To "walk the ship out" by purely muscular energy, by the coördinated action of two or three hundred men is a gross anomaly in this mechanized century. That was the obvious way to make a start. Then the problems of airship construction and of operation in flight were proving so exacting



THE "GRAF ZEPPELIN" IN THE LAKEHURST HANGAR

The *Los Angeles*, visible beyond the two small dirigibles at the left, is 120 feet shorter than the *Graf Zeppelin*, which is 776 feet long.



A CLOSE-UP OF THE CONTROL ROOM AND PASSENGERS' QUARTERS

as to leave little room for thought about the nice detail of handling methods. But the indefinite continuance of a process using so many men and no mechanical power would be as illogical as it would to drag the *Leviathan* to her pier with a thousand row-boats instead of by the power of steam.

The Germans, progenitors of the airship, have had little impulse to improve mooring methods, for the Zeppelin works, located by Count Zeppelin thirty years ago near his birthplace, are happily in a spot that approximates closely to the meteorological ideal. Winds are gentle and come nearly always from the same direction, and it is rarely that a ship cannot be led directly from the hangar onto the field. It was only during the war, when airship bases were located for strategic reasons in the area, neighboring the North Sea, far less favorable climatically, that trouble began to be experienced. The airship played the German Fleet false during the Battle of Jutland, air scouting being almost non-existent, because a wind at right angles to the prevailing one kept the airships immobilized in their hangars. Only during the past few weeks has there been active experiment by the Zeppelin Company with masts to which a ship can be moored outside the hangar.

We in America, and airship operators in Britain, have been less fortunate. Our winds at Lakehurst and elsewhere have been stronger and more variable. Such unhappy experiences as those of the *Graf Zeppelin*, when contrary winds held her a prisoner within the Lakehurst hangar and finally forced the cancellation of a visit to the interior of the United States, had become familiar to us. They would have been more familiar, had not necessity pressed heavily upon our airship organization, as on that of Great Britain, and necessity became the mother of invention. The airship mooring-mast comes as the answer.

The high mast, its altitude nearly twice the maximum diameter of the ship to be moored, was developed in England a number of years ago, and as far back as 1921 a British airship based on such a mast, remaining independent of any hangar for several months. It was subsequently adopted here in form only slightly modified, and there now exist in the United States half a dozen such masts, sufficiently interchangeable with those going up in Canada and other parts of the British Empire so that a ship adapted for one can moor to any—obviously of great advantage, especially for intercontinental commercial operations.

An airship landing at the high mast need not come in contact with the ground at all during the process, being flown and finally dragged by cables directly to the point where a hinged metal cone attached to the nose of the ship enters and is locked into a cup-shaped fitting mounted at the head of the mast. Only a dozen or fifteen need to assist on the ground. Moorings can be made even in winds of a velocity of thirty or forty miles an hour, and a mooring can be slipped and a flight started in still stronger winds. Both in England and in the United States, in fact, airships—the *Shenandoah* here and *R-33* abroad—have made involuntary departures from the mast in winds of sixty miles an hour or more when the force of the storm tore the mast fitting adrift from the nose of the ship. Both craft, even though thus structurally damaged locally, rode the gale successfully.

The first specific American contribution to the mooring problem, developed at the Naval Air Station at Lakehurst under the supervision of Lieut.-Com. C. E. Rosendahl of the *Los Angeles*, was a stub mast, having a height barely exceeding half the diameter of the airship destined to use it. Instead of floating in the air the ship can be held in contact with the ground at a point near its tail, mounted on a car which permits the rear part of the hull to roll freely to and fro along the ground as the ship swings about the mast like a weather vane. The use of this type of mooring equipment requires that the ship first be received on the ground by a large handling party and does not affect the economy of labor that can be had with the high mast. But it has the advantage of being enormously cheaper to construct, and there is reasonable prospect of further developments greatly reducing the amount of man-power needed. These stub masts, indeed, are so simple that they can be put up anywhere on a few days' notice, and when the *Los Angeles* flew to the Panama Canal Zone last spring she was received at a mast which had been erected after the flight was authorized.

Experiments are also in constant progress, especially at the Lakehurst Station, on mechanical devices for getting the ship into and out of the hangar even under unfavorable wind conditions. One of several possibilities much discussed here and abroad, and actually used in some of the early Zeppelin work, is a revolving hangar which can always be swung to face the wind.

The magnitude of such a project is at first sight appalling, but actual study of the engineering details reveals the possibility of providing for rotation at a surprisingly small increase of cost above that of the hangar on rigid foundations. The cost is high at best, however, running to \$2,000,000 or over for the housing of a single ship of such dimensions as are now in prospect, and the ideal will certainly be a reduction in the number of hangars and their replacement by mere mooring masts at most of the stopping points along commercial airship lines and at temporary bases of naval operations. Only at a few major bases of operation should hangars be needed. That is the theory on which the British are proceeding in building up the organization for their intra-empire airship lines.

Airship operations, both in the air and on the ground, are still, in a certain sense, in an experimental stage. Progress cannot be made in the office or the laboratory. It must be made in the air. We must continue to press boldly forward in new design and operation. Airships cannot be constructed or tested successfully upon a small scale. The indications for the future are so favorable that it would be the height of folly to do otherwise than go forward with new ships as the Navy Department is doing now. Those who are most intimately conversant with what has already been accomplished are the firmest believers in the possibility of overcoming the obstacles that still exist, and in putting rigid airships into early regular and invaluable service both in the commercial carriage of passengers and mail and in naval affairs. Those who know the airship best, too, have the least patience with the theory that it is destined in some way to undercut the airplane. Heavier-than-air and lighter-than-air craft have their distinctive places, and there should be little mutual invasion.

The *Graf Zeppelin* has performed a feat far out of the reach of any airplane. There are many commercial and military missions within the scope of every-day employment of the airplane upon which it would be either dangerous, hopelessly uneconomical, or physically impossible to embark with the *Graf Zeppelin* or any of her kindred. Both the airship and the airplane have made much progress. Both may be expected to make much more if public interest supports further research and development.

Atlantic Liner Airships

BY LIEUT. RAFFE EMERSON

Formerly of the U. S. Naval Air Service

THE *Graf Zeppelin*'s voyage of 111 hours, while a day longer than schedule because of a broken diving rudder, was but eighty-three hours on the long southern route from coast to coast. This was three and a half days, or a day faster than any steamship record. She carried a crew of forty, twenty passengers berthed in comfortable cabins, and a \$50,000 pay-load of mail—62,000 pieces weighing one and a half tons. On the return trip sixty-four persons and \$70,000 worth of mail were carried from airport to airport in sixty-nine hours. The actual shore-to-shore crossing was under fifty hours, or less than half the steamship record time.

Lindbergh, in the *New York Times*, says of this demonstration voyage: "The airship has definitely established its present-day superiority over heavier-than-air craft for transoceanic travel. . . . While we have watched the pioneering and extremely hazardous transoceanic flights of the airplane, only too often resulting in the loss of both craft and crew, he [Dr. Eckener] has constructed a gigantic liner of the air, comparable to our largest ships of the sea. He has completed the westward crossing of the Atlantic—the most difficult crossing—not with a great risk of disaster, but with a comparatively high degree of safety."

Lindbergh's words serve to bring before

the serious-minded public the relation of this voyage to future air transportation. Of interest also are the opinions of two highly qualified independent observers, our own Commander Rosendahl, Captain of the *Los Angeles*, and Colonel Herrera, Chief of the Technical Services of Spanish Aeronautics. On the return voyage Commander Pierce and Lieutenants Settle and Bauch were our naval observers, the last-named being Flight Officer in charge of air activities at Lakehurst.

When I talked with Dr. Eckener in 1924, after his landing of the *LZ-126*, later renamed the *Los Angeles*, he could not, or at least did not, speak English. All his addresses then, on a triumphal but short American tour, were delivered in German and translated by Captain Lehmann, as accomplished a master of English as he is of airships. To-day, Dr. Eckener speaks English with tolerable fluency and clear pronunciation—a great advantage in his contacts with the American public and press.

It is not generally understood that Count Zeppelin, a retired general of cavalry—the reconnaissance arm of an army—designed and invented his airships for civil and international communication rather than for war use. Indeed, in the beginning the Prussian military authorities were the least sympathetic and the most obstructive



THE LATEST THING IN MOORING-MASTS

The nearly completed 210-foot mast at St. Hubert, near Montreal, erected expressly for the mooring of the R-100, Britain's giant passenger dirigible, in 1929.

opponents with which his system of air navigation had to contend.

After Count Zeppelin's death in his eighties, in 1917, there descended upon Dr. Eckener the mantle of direction of the Zeppelin Foundation—not a corporation in the American profit-making sense of the term, but a public benefaction to be classed with institutions like the Smithsonian, or the Rockefeller Foundation, or the Carnegie Institute. So far as I know, Dr. Eckener is the oldest airship pilot and commander in the world. He personally has trained everybody worth while in the German Zeppelin service. Himself a scientific man, he has exerted a remarkable influence on the construction details of the Zeppelins—even in the pre-war period.

Dr. Eckener, now the acting head of the Zeppelin Foundation, has a mission. That mission is to carry forward the basic peaceful idea of the late Count Zeppelin, to promote intercontinental traffic by these huge liners of the air, in order to bring nations into closer and more sympathetic contact. That is not a gesture, but is a sentiment born of the realization that nations, in order to get on well with each other, must have ever-closer contacts, and that no means are better for strengthening those contacts than the improvement of the transportation of business and diplomatic personages, and the means of instant communication—such as the radio-telephone.

The first Zeppelin, in 1909, was put into operation for carrying tourists over picturesque regions in Germany; and this service, under the management of Hamburg-American officials, was continued up to and including the first half of 1914.

For 1915, Count Zeppelin had planned two large undertakings: a North Pole flight and a voyage to the American continent. For the latter the plan was to stop on the Atlantic coast, put fresh fuel aboard, and then continue to the San Francisco Exposition. The war interrupted this development of civil airship transport.

After the war, the Allied Supreme Council, led by the French, suppressed airship activities in Germany, which had begun again in the fall of 1919 with a commercial service between Berlin and the Swiss border.

Early in 1920, several of Dr. Eckener's associates, and Dr. Wilhelm Cuno (Director of the Hamburg-American line, and one-time Chancellor in a Conservative Govern-

ment of the German Republic) discussed plans with one of the larger American shipping interests, for the establishment of a regular transoceanic airship line; with Mr. Litchfield of the Goodyear Company, regarding the construction in America of ships from the Zeppelin plans; and with one of the largest steel fabricating companies for the building of a huge airdock (which the French call "hangar" and the British by the still more trifling term "shed") to be mounted on a 1,000-foot turntable, like a swing bridge.

While this government was generally sympathetic to the proposal of the transfer of the Zeppelin industry to the United States, thus escaping the Allied restrictions, the American business men who were approached had not developed sufficient air confidence to put up the tens of millions necessary for the establishment of regular air-shipping. It has remained, curiously enough, for entirely different nationals than the Germans or Americans to make the real beginning of regular air-liner service.

The most interesting personage aboard the *Graf Zeppelin* was Coronel (Colonel) don Emilio Herrera, directed by King Alfonso to accept Dr. Eckener's invitation to be an official observer of this first transoceanic commercial flight. Colonel Herrera is a military engineer of high accomplishments, a specialist in aeronautics, and has an unusually high standing as a mathematician (so needful to the grasp of aerodynamics and stresses). He made his first balloon ascension twenty-seven years ago, and took out his pilot's certificate three years later. In 1908-9 he served as Observation Balloon Chief on the Moroccan front, himself directing operations down the telephone cable under fire. The same year he qualified as airship commander and a year later as airplane pilot. In 1915, he represented his government at the San Francisco Exposition.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the war came to its dramatic close Colonel Herrera presented to His Majesty, Don Alfonso, a project for a transatlantic airship service, employing large air-liners of the Zeppelin type, between his Mediterranean country and the United States, along the mild southern passage.

The King, Colonel Herrera tells me, listened attentively, but decided that it would be the policy of the Royal Spanish Government to support air relations with the more important members of their former colonial em-

pire in Ibero-America. It is true that the distance between continental Europe and the commercial centers of South America is longer, measured by great circles, than the distance between central Europe and central North America. But air conditions—temperature, non-prevalence of storms, and strength of winds—are generally more favorable for the development of regular airship schedules than they are on the tempestuous North Atlantic.

Colonel Herrera came to these shores on the *Graf Zeppelin*, not only in the capacity of observer but also to see for himself how the ship in competent German hands would function, how the passengers would respond, and what the American attitude would be toward such an airship service.

He had already been ordered to proceed to Buenos Aires by surface ship, in order to confer with Argentinian authorities relative to the establishment of a terminal airport with substantial mooring towers and with great airdocks suitable for receiving and berthing these huge liners of the air.

The Argentine Government has offered a subsidy and exclusive concession to the Compañía Transaerea Colón (the Columbus Transaerial Company) for the operation of airships between Europe and the Argentine Republic. The Argentinians are creating a 500-acre landing-field. They plan to erect a substantial mooring tower for the reception of transatlantic airships, and, subsequently, airdocks where these ships may be berthed for repairs or for running adjustments not conveniently made while they are swinging from the mooring tower.

Another project provides for a mooring tower at Havana, to serve also as an air beacon, for a Europe-West Indies service and between Cuba and metropolitan centers of the United States. This tower will be established in one corner of the air field, so that commercial airplane traffic will not be obstructed.



COLONEL EMILIO HERRERA

Following his novel crossing of the Atlantic by *Zeppelin*, he made use of another instrument of modern science, the radio-telephone, at the New York office of the International Telephone Company, to speak with his family in Spain.

Summarized from official and private sources, definite information on this remarkable undertaking for the carrying of passengers and mail between Europe and America is here collated for the first time.

The Compañía Transaerea Colón, controlled by Spanish capital, is a parent organization, for the international character of the enterprise requires other corporations. In some cases these will be associated or affiliated with the

parent company, rather than having a subsidiary relationship.

The Compañía is organized for the establishment, first, of a four or five-day commodious *Zeppelin* service between Spain and the east coast of South America; second, to operate an alternative sailing to the West Indies and the southern coast of the United States. The Compañía will work in close harmony with the Spanish Royal Mail Line, which will book the passages.

Steamship men are not apprehensive as to the inroads that airships will make on their passenger traffic because for many years to come the percentage of such travel that takes to the air must be minute. For instance, the *Graf Zeppelin* berthed only a score of passengers, four of whom actually paid any fare; whereas even before the war transatlantic travel by surface ship had reached a volume of approximately 1,000,000 each way yearly.

"We are for air travel," an official of a steamship line operating to South America said to Colonel Herrera and to me. "Its speed will attract people to make the trip who otherwise might not go at all. Many of these people will not return by air, and this will give us more business of the highest class. Further, any means which can accelerate the mails and the transportation of important business representatives has its effect in bringing more travel for our lines and also the cargoes that their business produces."

The United States Lines, the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique or French Line, and the Cunard Line, are friendly to the development of ocean-air services.

The minimum fare by airship has been set at about \$800 from Spain to Argentina, corresponding to good first-class accommodations by the present surface liners. There is no doubt in the writer's estimation, based on lifelong experience in public transportation relations, that the largest ships which the Spanish may construct will have their passenger capacity filled and a waiting list on hand at the named figure. French, Italian, Portuguese, German, and British merchants and their families, as well as Spaniards, wealthy Argentinians, Chilians and Brazilians, and always the Americans, will patronize the line heavily.

Seville is to be the Spanish port of departure from the continent of Europe. Spain is not unawake to the fact that this port will attract as travelers through Spain the highest class of people who heretofore have largely passed Spain by. This fact will not only develop Spanish tourist activities but will direct the attention of business interests to industrial and other modern opportunities in that land.

The Seville airport has been formally dedicated, the ground is now being cleared, and it will soon be equipped with a modern type of mooring tower which will owe many of its ingenious mechanical arrangements to Colonel Herrera's inventive talent as an engineer. A reinforced concrete structure of

unprecedented dimensions is to be poured in place. The Spanish, in contrast with the methods used in the great Zeppelin air-docks and in the Italian, British, and American practice—all of which are fabricated steel structures—have decided to follow the French innovation at Orly, where two concrete air-docks were built in 1921.

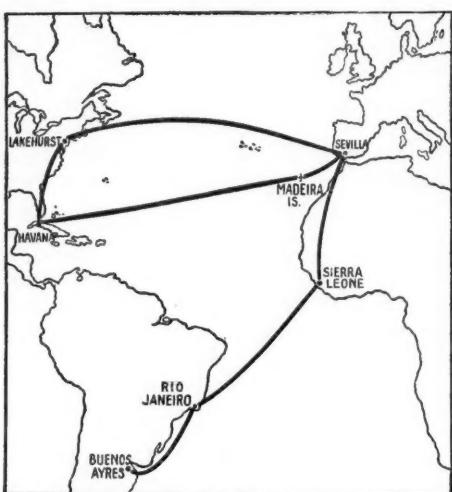
The dimensions of the Seville air-docks, however, will be much greater than anything heretofore attempted for berthing these *Leviathans* of the air. The height of the parabolic concrete arch is 190 feet in the clear inside—8 per cent. higher than the largest attempted heretofore. The span of this arch is 400 feet or almost two city blocks. This is more than half again as great as that of the air-dock at Lakehurst, at present the largest in the world. The length of the structure is 300 meters inside the doors, the same as the height of the Eiffel Tower and barely short of 1,000 feet. The enclosed area is more than nine acres.

Not one but two air-docks of this enormous size are to be placed at Seville, with their axes at somewhat different angles in order to provide for the maximum percentage of hours under prevailing wind conditions for berthing a ship instead of mooring it for an intermediate period at the tower. At Buenos Aires, practically a duplicate of the Seville airport will be constructed.

It is interesting to note that the contract for these two great airports, running well over ten million dollars, has been secured by an aggressive American firm, Fox Brothers International Corporation, in collaboration with the affiliated companies, Société Franco-Américaine d'Enterprises et de Travaux Publics, and Compañía Autovía Madrid-Irun. This latter company is building a 260-mile, \$40,000,000 cement high-speed automobile highway, financed out of tolls.

The French and American engineers, by an ingenious improvement in the method of pouring concrete, figure that they should be able to complete the shell of the first of these air-docks at Seville by the middle of the next year. At that time, the Sevilla Ibero-American International Exposition will be in full blast. The huge air-dock will be one of the show places for the visitors, an eighth wonder of the world.

American and British engineers, who have the leading experience in the development, employment, and improvement of mooring masts and towers for airships, are co-operat-



PROPOSED AIR-ROUTES OF THE SPANISH ZEPPELIN COMPANY

ing with Colonel Herrera in the perfection of newer methods. Naval and military authorities, foreign ministers, and the most competent directors of aeronautic development, in such diverse countries as Spain, Germany, France, England, the Argentine, the Dominion of Canada, and the United States, are joining in their technical contributions, in their financing, and in their productivity, to assure the best possible realization of safe and regular trans-oceanic airship enterprise for the closer commercial union of the nations.

The traveling public naturally is most interested in the airships themselves and their accommodations, more than in the very necessary provision of airports and intermediate mooring towers at ports of call, for refuge under tropical storm conditions, and for refueling.

The first plans by the Zeppelin Company of Germany, called for ships of 135,000 cubic meters displacement, approximately 150 tons. After discussion with Colonel Herrera and after learning Dr. Eckener's expressed views regarding the necessary increased speed and power of transatlantic airships, the conclusion is inevitable that the ships must be substantially larger. Fortunately the cost and time of building the airships does not increase proportionately to the increase in size or displacement, but the carrying capacity in passengers does increase in compound ratio. Hence the larger ships will actually be able to transport passengers more economically, at the same time giving them faster and more comfortable service.

I expect that the first ship to be launched from the Spanish building yard will displace 200 tons, will have a top speed of about eighty knots, and in its average air journey north and south will make better than seventy knots, or eighty miles an hour. This is more than four times the speed of the surface ships engaged in that traffic.

While the earlier plans of the Spanish Zeppelin group called for berthing forty passengers, it seems that nearly 200 can be accommodated with reasonable comfort.



DINING ABOARD THE "GRAF ZEPPELIN"

Lady Drummond Hay was the only woman passenger on the westward crossing.

People with steamship experience will have charge of these passenger arrangements, and not aeronauts. The *Graf Zeppelin*, first of all commercial transatlantic airships, demonstrated completely the ineptness of technicians trying to deal with a situation outside their own particular line of experience.

There are no better designers and operators of airships in the world than the Zeppelin people; but their arrangements for the comfort of passengers, elementary provision against the cold, bathing facilities, drinking water, radio communications en route, customs arrangements at the American port, and similar details, left almost everything to be desired. This remark is not addressed in other than friendly and constructive criticism of the service. One cannot expect airship builders and weather-wise pilots at the same time to be successful caterers.

How big is a 200-ton airship? It is approximately 150 feet in beam or diameter, or 50 per cent. greater than our largest surface ships, and between 600 and 800 feet long, or about the length of ocean liners. The size is so great that there is any amount of space for all the promenade decks and other roomy facilities it may be desired to give air passengers. The technical question is not one of space but of weight of structure.

Frequently transatlantic liners are delayed twelve, twenty-four, sometimes even forty-eight hours, before weather conditions are sufficiently favorable to enable them to dock. This is true of the largest,

fastest, and most seaworthy ships. Since airships give a commercial speed of two, three, or four times that of surface craft, and without *mal de mer* (for they run around the edges of storm areas, instead of going through them as the ocean liner must) the saving in time is so great that it makes little difference if the airship delays for ten or twelve hours her scheduled departure or arrives twelve to twenty-four hours later than the time in which her captain planned to complete the voyage.

As illustrative, let us take the example of the recent round trip of the *Graf Zeppelin*. Owing to an accident she had to reduce speed. Because of meteorological conditions, because of the time of day, because of Dr. Eckener's plans for showing his airship above prominent cities along the American seaboard, the arrival of the ship was one full day behind that originally planned.

The very accident that delayed the *Graf Zeppelin* proved the capacity of airships, as contrasted with airplanes, to effect repairs of even a major character while under way. Airplanes, unfortunately, must come down. There have been many previous cases of the directing fins of airships failing in the air. In no case have these incidents been other than inconveniences. A solution for this particular trouble probably lies in the employment of metal skins for the fins, as is customary in airplane wings. A metal covering for the whole ship was considered a quarter of a century ago by Zeppelin, and it may some day prove to be worth while.

The British, fortunately for the technical development of airship traffic throughout the globe, are taking their airships seriously. Next spring two British ships, half again as big as the *Graf Zeppelin* and capable for a short voyage of carrying 100 passengers in contrast to her twenty, will be plying the seas connecting the British Empire. There is no better airship commander in the world, not excluding the best of the surviving Zeppelin pilots, than Major Scott. The system of mooring airships, thus dispensing

with great covered berths or airdocks at intermediate ports of call, is a British invention. Major Scott has done the most to advance the technique of this mooring device, while the writer has merely had the function of being an adapter, introducing the idea into practical use in the Western Hemisphere.

After the *R-38* disaster, which destroyed a ship that did not happen to be worth while, and also destroyed half a hundred British and American mentalities irreplaceable in the cause of aeronautics, the English experienced cold feet and let down on airship development.

At the present time there is a sort of naval armaments race on between our British cousins and ourselves as to who can produce the biggest and most powerful airships. In that race the United States Navy now has the lead from the technical viewpoint, although not in time schedule of completion of authorized projects.

Already a mooring tower is in existence at Ismaila, Egypt, close to the Suez, as a refueling point on the route to India. It is likely that the earliest ambitious demonstration commercial flight will be made to Egypt, rather than across the tempestuous Atlantic, and it will be toward the middle of 1929 before a British ship visits Canada. At St. Hubert, near Montreal, they will find the most modern, powerful, and efficient mooring tower in existence. It will combine all the technical genius developed by the British originators of the mooring system, by American mechanical improvements, and by Canadian self-sufficiency in engineering and the essential construction materials. Canadians, moreover, have financed this mooring tower, an even more elaborate and costly structure than that which Mr. Henry Ford erected at Dearborn, Michigan, at Dr. Eckener's suggestion.

Needless to say, when the Spanish line begins service next spring, on one of the return trips across the Atlantic there will be passengers from Spain and the West Indies who will return to Europe via Montreal.





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IN THE HEART OF MODERN ATHENS: THE UNIVERSITY BOULEVARD

The main building of the University of Athens is at the left; at the right is the Academy of Sciences.

Greece—A Land of Progress

BY CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING

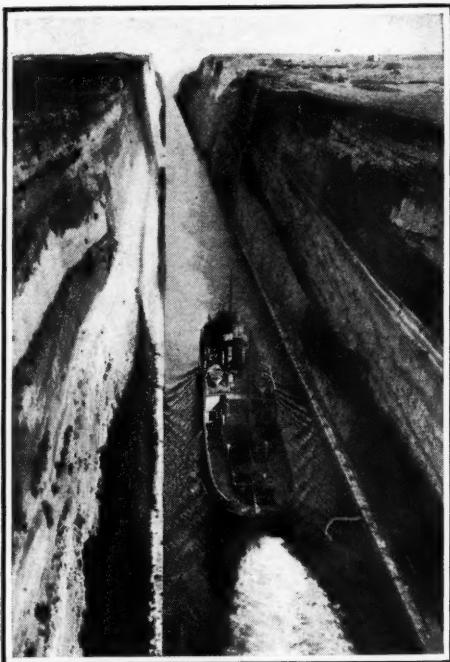
President Emeritus of Western Reserve University

IF THE Great War served to develop a sense of internationalism in the world, it also served to develop an intenser nationalism in many countries. One of these countries was Greece. Always a proud nation, Greece has in the last decade become more and more conscious of the unique greatness of her past, and more alert to the possibilities of her future. A new life throbs in her veins, and a new vision thrills her soul.

Greece wishes, and wishes strongly, to be enrolled with the advancing peoples of the earth. Everywhere there are signs of this progressive spirit. One sign is her developing attitude of national responsibility toward her historic monuments,—her architecture, her sculptures and all the other memorials of a long-vanished and ever-continuing civilization. For of these treasures she is the sole custodian.

Just as Switzerland holds the Alps in guardianship for the lovers of nature of the whole world, so Greece may properly think of herself as called to a trusteeship, also for all peoples, of her Olympia, of her Delphi and of her Argive treasures. That her Government and her people are becoming increasingly alive to the duty and right of such trusteeship is a most significant symbol of their progressiveness.

There are other and contrasting ways in which this new spirit is made manifest. One of these is the welcome which Greece has given to the so-called refugees from Armenia and Turkey, who have come to Greece in great numbers and settled there. Migration is one of the keynotes of history: it has marked the march of men before and within historical times. And the migration of a million and a half dwellers in Turkish lands, mostly Greeks and Arme-



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SHIP CANAL BETWEEN CORINTH AND PIRÆUS

This canal bears witness to the progressive commercial spirit of modern Greece. Seventy miles long, and dug through solid rock, it cuts down the distance between Adriatic ports and Piræus, port of Athens, on the east coast of Greece, by two hundred miles.

nians, to Macedonia and other parts of Greece, takes its place with other great historical migrations. As a result of this influx into Greece, no less than 1,500 villages have been built and equipped on the plains of Macedonia. Settlements have also been made in urban Athens and Piræus. About two million acres of land in all have been appropriated by the Government for the use of these old and new citizens.

Greece has been aided in the work of establishing these peoples in homes and occupations by large loans from other Governments, and by the personal service of other peoples; but the welcome she has given has been primarily her welcome and the help she has bestowed in hand and heart, material and intellectual, help unflagging and intimate, has been her help. In the exchange of populations following the War, Greece lost about a third of a million of her Turkish and Bulgarian subjects, but, on the other hand, she opened wide her doors to her own long-separated brethren who came back impoverished, hopeless, and

bearing in their bodies and souls the marks of suffering and famine. All honor to Greece for the beneficences which she has given at great cost, and will continue to give, to these refugees.

Evidence is already emerging to prove that the addition of more than a million persons to her population of some five million, in spite of the tremendous cost, will ultimately aid in her own reconstruction, economic and agricultural. Already, communities in Athens and in Piræus, composed of refugees, are among the most prosperous of all Greek communities. Plains of Macedonia and of other provinces are bearing crops—plains untilled for many a year.

In still another field of endeavor, quite unlike the two already considered, is the Hellenistic progressiveness made evident. The Greek Orthodox Church, like the other historic churches of the Near East, has at times been accused of the sacrifice of vital personal piety to ritual observance and to ecclesiastical formalism. Such charges are probably far less true to-day than for many decades. The intimations of the desire for fellowship, given in many ways by the western churches to their brethren of the eastern communions, have been received with a cordiality and a heartiness of response most grateful to those sending these greetings.

But in particular, be it said, in Greece there has lately sprung up a movement indicative both of national progressiveness and also of the development of a new sense of religious life in the individual. It bears the significant name of the *Zoe* or life movement, which places emphasis on personal piety, and stands for the direct approach of the individual to his God. It can hardly be called a new Reformation. It has no Martin Luther. In fact the need of a Luther is slight. It makes no attempt to nail new theses to church doors. It is, rather, a popular uprising of the membership of the churches, progressing within the church itself, and with the approval and support of priests and of bishops. It promotes its progress through publishing a paper which is said to have a larger circulation than any other journal printed in Greece. In orderliness and forcefulness the *Zoe* movement goes forward. It is full of meaning and of hopefulness for the religious development of the nation.

In the field of education, also, Greece, like most countries of the whole world, is

proving its progressiveness. Athens has recently established a college which bears the name of Athens College. Like many colleges of the Near East, it is in part of American origin, though the direct supervision is committed in some degree to Athenians. The benevolence of these Greek citizens is erecting the first buildings. The endowment, however, is largely of American generosity, and the president and many teachers are likewise American. It is designed to meet the demand of Greek parents who "want a college in Athens which will do for our sons what the American college has done for American boys." In its new buildings, placed in a most historic and beautiful environment, with a full and able faculty, Athens College may come to do for Athens and for Greece what Robert College has done for sixty years for other regions of the Near East.

In the northern capital, Salonica, three hundred miles from Athens, a great educational movement progresses. The movement includes no less than three institutions.

Anatolia College, after years of outstand-



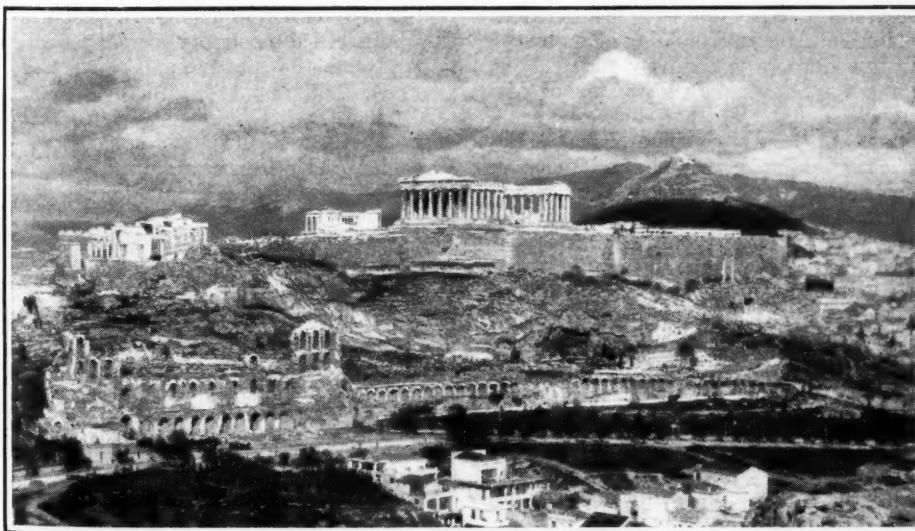
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THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS

Such beautiful buildings as this are a sign that Greece desires and is capable of preserving the heritage of her past.

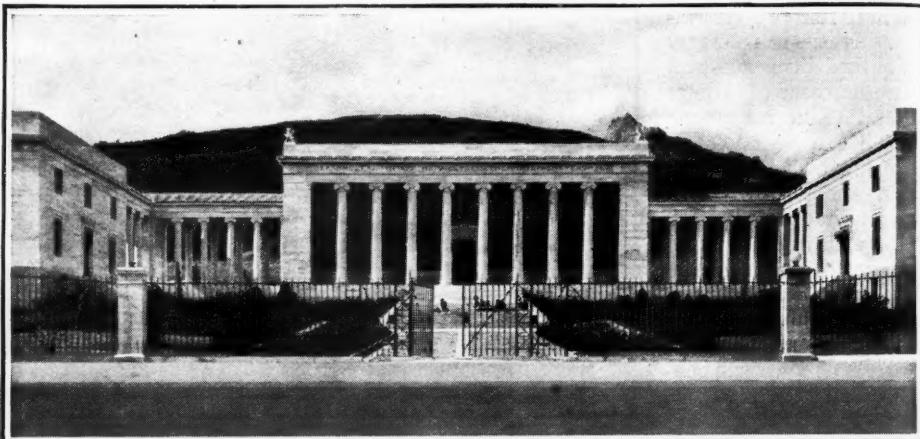
ing achievement, expelled from Marsovian by the Turks, is reestablishing itself in Salonica. Its president, Dr. George E. White, and several members of its faculty, are reassembling and reconstructing their forces. It is an example of educational rebuilding of unique and thrilling interest. The Thessalonica Agricultural and Industrial Institute, founded by an American, Dr. J. Henry House, and now guided by Dr. House's son, is teaching the practical arts and sciences to Macedonian and other youths.

In a like spirit of enthusiastic progressiveness the University of Athens, itself most



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THE ACROPOLIS AND, AT THE RIGHT, MT. LYKABETHOS, SURROUNDED BY MODERN ATHENS



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THE GENNADEION, ONE OF THE NEW AND IMPOSING BUILDINGS OF MODERN ATHENS

This library contains fifty thousand volumes about Greece, and is run in connection with the American School of Classical Research. The building is the gift of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

prosperous and advancing, has recently established a branch in the northern capital, with one of its most scholarly and enthusiastic professors as president. He is gifted with international vision and an appreciation of the patriotic value of higher scholarship.

Among the new facilities of the higher education should be included the Gennadeion. The Gennadeion is a library collected and given by a Greek whose name it bears. It represents a most precious collection of fifty thousand volumes concerned directly and indirectly with Greece. It is housed in the most impressive of all modern buildings of Athens, a building given by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It is, by the way, a unique illustration of Mr. Carnegie's interest in and ultimate benefactions to libraries. The collection is efficiently administered by an American scholar, Dr. G. S. Scoggin. The Gennadeion coöperates with the American School of Classical Studies, of which it is a near neighbor, and, in a sense, an integral part. As a form of the advancing work of the School it may be added that new excavations are now being made in parts as remote from each other as Salonica, Corinth, and the Argive Valley. These excavations are already in the present year giving "finds" of great interest to the classicist and archeologist.

Despite all these evidences of her progressiveness, Greece has still a long way to go before she reaches her goal of ultimate national worth and of international power. For her economic condition is sadly limited

by her lack of natural resources. Her poverty might be called poverty, so diverse are her needs. The standard of living, especially among the peasants, is distressingly low. Among these folk the comforts are few. The hygienic conditions are deplorable,—the mud-hut is not the nurse of health, but of weakness and of disease. The Greek, moreover, is not an executive. Gifted as were his forefathers with intellectual curiosity and also with facility in speech, he is more inclined to ask and to discuss questions than to assume responsibilities or to execute obligations. Coöperation is indeed difficult, for in many of the important relations of life and of work the Greeks do not trust each other. Whether this lack of trust is the result of democracy, or whether it exists in spite of democracy, is a problem. The actual results, therefore, of the current spirit of progressiveness will be slow in emerging.

In four fields, however, at once distinct and gravely important—the guardianship of the historic monuments of the past, the service for the refugees of the present, the development of the religious life of the nation, and the foundation and enlargement of the higher education—the visitor to Greece gathers up impressions vivid and deep, that Greece even under conditions of poverty and of political uncertainty, is sincerely and devotedly seeking to make its present and its future the worthiest continuation possible of its glorious past of twenty-five hundred years.

The Episcopal Convention

THE TRIENNIAL GATHERING AT WASHINGTON ACTS
TO PROMOTE CHURCH UNITY

BY REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., LL.D.

Canon of Washington Cathedral

THE Episcopal Church is not one of the largest of the religious bodies in the United States. In the latest statistics of the Census Bureau it stands only seventh among the major groups, being largely exceeded in numbers by Roman Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans, and Baptists, and somewhat by Presbyterians and Disciples of Christ. Like the Congregationalist Church, which is even smaller, it has, however, a very broad influence. This is due to many causes, perhaps the most important of which is the fact that it holds an historical position which makes it include traditions both of the ancient Catholic Church and of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. It is these two streams of thought that have given it its official descriptive title of the Protestant-Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

This Church finished on October 25 its triennial session in Washington. Meeting at the nation's capital, near the great cathedral now building, which occupies the most commanding site in the district, and addressed by the President of the United States and other men of distinction, it attracted national attention.

The highest governing body of the Episcopal Church is the General Convention, made up of two Houses: the House of Bishops, about 150 in number; and the House of Deputies, consisting of four clerical and four lay deputies elected by each of the dioceses, and one clerical and one lay deputy from each of the missionary districts—in all an assembly of 638 members. The concurrent action of these two houses is necessary for all legislative acts, and when these have to do with changes in the Constitution or Book of Common Prayer they require favorable action at one General Convention and ratification at the next

succeeding convention. The similarity of this method of legislation to that of the Senate and the House of Representatives in the national government has often been pointed out. It is largely due to the fact that many of the delegates who drew up the constitution of the Episcopal Church at the conventions of 1785 and 1789, after the close of the Revolutionary War, served also in a similar capacity in the United States Constitutional Convention.

The House of Bishops is presided over by the Presiding Bishop, now the Most Rev. John Gardner Murray, D.D., Bishop of Maryland, who was elected for a six-year term at the previous Triennial Convention in New Orleans. He is also the chief executive officer of the National Council, made up—in addition to a few ex-officio officers—of four Bishops, four clergymen, and eight laymen, elected for terms of years by the General Convention, and one representative who may be either bishop, priest, or layman, from each of the eight “provinces” of the Church. This Council sees that the instructions of the General Convention are carried out, and acts for it in certain matters between meetings. The House of Deputies elects a presiding officer at each convention. This year the choice fell on Rev. Z. Barney Phillips, D.D., rector of the largest Episcopal church in Washington—Epiphany—and chaplain of the United States Senate. Both Bishop Murray and Dr. Phillips showed themselves fair-minded and effective presiding officers.

The personnel of the convention was representative of all that is best in American public and private life. Among the bishops were leaders in Christian thought and service, such as Bishop Brent of Western New York, Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts, Bishop Rowe of Alaska, and

Bishop Roots of China. Among the clergy were Rev. George Craig Stewart of Chicago, Rev. Herbert H. Powell of San Francisco, Dean Robbins of New York, and Rev. Henry Sherrill of Trinity Church, Boston.

Among the laymen, such men as Hon. George Wickersham of New York, Hon. George Wharton Pepper of Philadelphia, Mr. William Cooper Procter of Cincinnati, Hon. Charles B. Warren of Detroit, Hon. Richard I. Manning of South Carolina, Hon. John Stewart Bryan of Richmond, Mr. Louis Monteagle of San Francisco, Mr. Samuel Mather of Cleveland, Mr. Frederick Morehouse of Milwaukee, and Hon. Jefferson Randolph Anderson of Savannah. These and over 300 other busy laymen gave up over two weeks of their valuable time to advance the cause of the Church—an indication that religious interest still has a strong hold on the thoughtful part of the American public.

The services of the last two laymen mentioned were especially appreciated. Mr. Morehouse is the lay reader of the Catholic party, but his earnestness and beautiful spirit have given him a place of affection among all groups. Mr. Anderson, as the efficient chairman of the Committee on the Dispatch of Business, rendered invaluable service.

The House of Bishops met in the large assembly hall at the top of the Willard

Hotel, which had been specially arranged for its use. The House of Deputies met in Continental Memorial Hall, the beautiful building of the Daughters of the American Revolution, facing the White House gardens. Joint-sessions were held in the latter place. It must be remembered, however, that although public interest centers mainly in the discussions of the General Convention, there were many smaller related groups holding meetings. Notable among these were the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and the Daughters of the King, which held their sessions immediately before the Convention, the Woman's Auxiliary, which is the official organization of the women of the Church on lines somewhat parallel to the General Convention, and the Girls' Friendly Society. Every day there were special meetings of other more or less closely affiliated organizations,—all of them contributing to a program of such breadth and interest as to attract in addition to the delegates probably over 25,000 people to Washington for longer or shorter stays during the Convention.

The Prayer Book Revised

The revision of the Book of Common Prayer, as prepared by a commission under the chairmanship of Bishop Slattery of Massachusetts that has been working on this problem for fifteen years, was com-



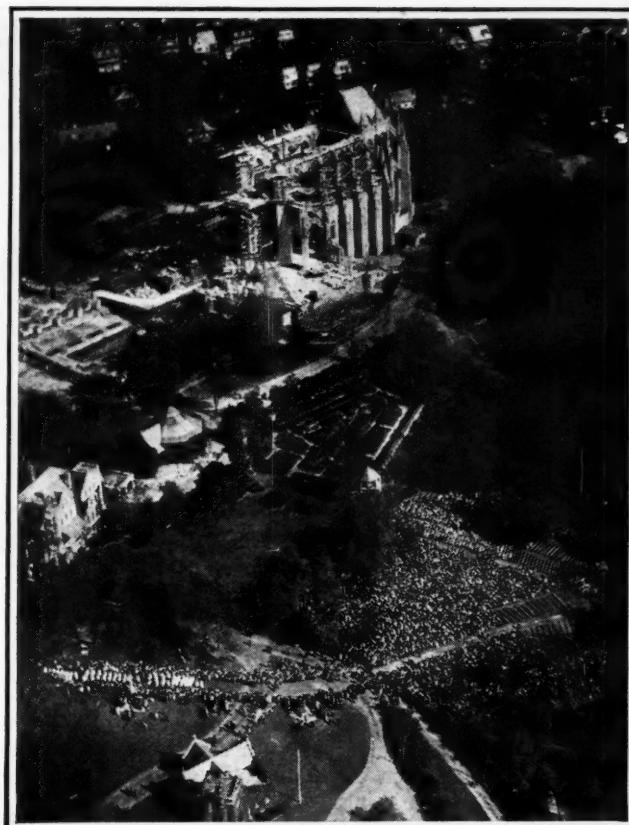
PRESIDENT COOLIDGE ADDRESSES 17,000 PERSONS ON "RELIGION AND THE NATION"

pleted and duly approved. This represents the second revision made since the colonial period, the first having been in 1789 and the second in 1892. With each revision has come greater flexibility in the use of the Prayer Book, some enrichment, and the omission of certain matter that seemed no longer appropriate. Bishop Slattery has thus summed up the most important changes which the latest revision has introduced. He says:

Baptism is lifted into the expression of God's loving care for his children; the marriage service makes the wife equal with the man in privilege and responsibility; the burial service substitutes New Testament trust for Old Testament fear; aspirations of our time for social justice, good government and world brotherhood are recognized; services may be made shorter and with hymns and sermons may have a new force and a new unity. In a word, without ceasing to be the book of the ages the Prayer Book becomes also the book of this generation.

The Book as revised contains many prayers now included for the first time, although some of them are taken or adopted from ancient sources. Some of their titles are suggestive of the growing interest of the Church in social welfare. Among these are collects for: "A State Legislature," "Courts of Justice," "Our Country," "The Increase of the Ministry," "Schools, Colleges, and Universities," "Memorial Days," "Religious Education," "Christian Service," "Social Justice," "Every Man in His Work," and a special collect, with Epistle and Gospel, for "Independence Day."

The addition of a new service of "Offices of Instruction" for children, including the old catechism but rearranged in a much more effective way with a good deal of vital material added, is a notable feature. The Lectionary has also been revised with profit so as to eliminate certain Old Testament

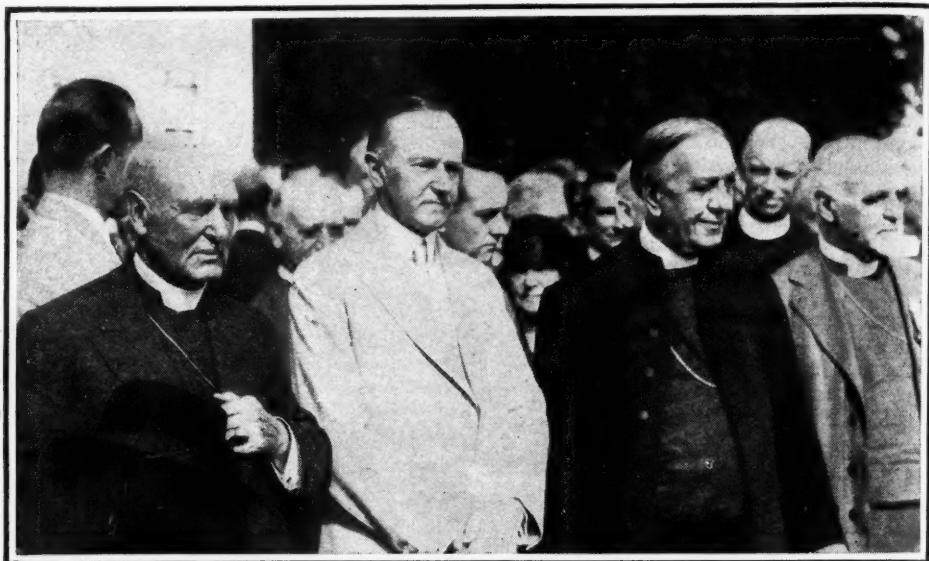


AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE OPENING SESSION

The meeting was held in a natural amphitheater in the grounds of the partly completed National Cathedral on Mount St. Albans, Washington, D. C.

passages glorying in war and the spirit of revenge, and to aim at making all the lessons not only instructive but primarily significant from the standpoint of moral and spiritual inspiration. Similarly the Psalter has been revised so that passages inconsistent with Christian ideals may be omitted.

It is specially interesting to note that the chief difference between the English and the American revision is that the American book makes no provision for the reservation of the sacrament which the Anglo-Catholic party wished in England and included in the proposed book, but which was rejected by Parliament, and is not desired by more than a small minority of American churchmen. Although the commission appointed was merely for "the revision and enrichment" of the Book of Common Prayer, the opportunity has been taken to omit certain phrases with doctrinal implications incon-



THE PRESIDENT WELCOMES THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Bishop John G. Murray of Maryland, who presided at the National Convention (left), President Coolidge, and Bishop James E. Freeman of Washington.

sistent with modern interpretations of Christianity. For instance, the idea of "original sin" implied in the old Baptismal Service, and morbid references to "miserable sinners" have been omitted, while a few statements of the Trinitarian doctrine held by the Church, which in their form of expression in the old Prayer Book were thought by some to be close to Tritheism, have been modified so as to insure the underlying truth of God's unity.

The changes in the Prayer Book are probably of more significance than would seem to the casual observer; for the Episcopal Church, having a liturgy, sometimes adjusts itself less quickly to changes in the outside world than some non-liturgical bodies. But when the Church once provides for a change in its Prayer Book, so as to meet either the theological scruples or the spiritual yearnings of its members, it represents substantial and permanent progress for the membership at large. Consequently it is possible for the leaders to carry the whole body of the Church forward when it takes any decisive step.

The fact that the revision, which, as Bishop Slattery—Chairman of the Committee states, is the "most radical revision since 1549," was carried through without any considerable party differences, is of itself most encouraging.

The Church Moves Toward Unity

A decision of great importance had to do with Church Unity. The convention in an impressive joint-session, authorized its Commission on Faith and Order, of which Bishop Brent is chairman, to confer with the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, both North and South, "in the consideration of matters of Christian morality looking toward organic unity."

The phrasing of this resolution is a bit vague but the purpose of it is clear. It is to supplement the broader endeavors for Church Unity for which the Lausanne Conference was called by trying to come to a closer understanding with representative Protestant bodies in the United States, starting the new efforts with the simpler moral and religious, rather than the more complicated ecclesiastical, considerations. Rev. Dr. Chorley of New York explained to the delegates the reason for the procedure proposed. He said: "We are beginning with those Churches nearest to us in origin, history, and ideas. Methodists have episcopacy; Presbyterians accept the three orders in the ministry and the succession of the same. By and by the circle will be widened. Hitherto our approaches have been mainly concerned with doctrine and order. Now we try the interesting experi-

ment of beginning with the religious life."

The deep concern of the Church for the cause of Church Unity was shown in the interest whenever the subject was discussed, the continuation of the Commission on Faith and Order, and the earnest plea for unity in the Bishop's Pastoral: "A divided Church implies a yet unconquered world. . . . One family of God, one world, one Church. By example, by service, by prayer we must seek unity."

A Business Man's Budget

The convention gave a remarkable evidence of its support of the National Council's broad program in behalf of missions, religious education and social service by approving almost all its recommendations and by adopting with only minor changes its budget for the next triennium. This Council, established three years ago at New Orleans, has proved very effective. It has not only wiped out the deficit of the Church but has placed its affairs on a sound pay-as-you-go budget basis. This provides for \$4,225,680 a year for three years for the general work of the Church at home and abroad, in addition to \$3,000,000 that will be raised for new equipment in the mission field. The budget was admirably presented by the vice-president and treasurer of the Council, Mr. Louis B. Franklin of New York, who was formerly the Director of the War Loan Organization of the Treasury Department.

In addition the convention in one of its most interesting discussions met the request of the veteran lay medical missionary, Dr. Rudolph S. Teusler, of Japan, by agreeing to raise \$1,000,000, in addition to \$1,500,000 being raised by a national committee, in the interest of St. Luke's Hospital, Tokyo. Senator Pepper strongly urged this proposal, partly because of the strategic position of St. Luke's Hospital to the Christian cause in Japan and partly so as to create more friendly relations between Japan and the United States.

The Convention decided to throw itself heart and soul into the cause of evangelism on a national plane. The followers of the Wesleys who left the Church of England two centuries ago largely because it was so lukewarm on the side of evangelism would have been greatly pleased to note the unanimity and enthusiasm which have come into the Church as a result of the recent Bishops Crusade, the purpose of which is to

revive a sense of responsibility among clergy and laymen alike for the extension of the Kingdom of God. Bishop Darst of East Carolina, Bishop Freeman of Washington, and Rev. Samuel Shoomaker of New York are among the leaders in this movement. The last-named urged particularly on the convention the importance of personal evangelism.

There were other decisions of importance, such as giving the delegates of the Woman's Auxiliary for the first time seating at the joint sessions of the Houses of Bishops and Deputies, with right of participation, extending the cooperation of the Church with the Federal Council of Churches to cover certain forms of evangelism, ratifying the Convention's previous stand as to the observance of the Prohibition Amendment, adopting resolutions favoring the teaching of peaceful methods of adjusting international difficulties in schools, endorsing the new Kellogg Peace Treaties, and postponing indefinitely action on the proposal of the previous Convention that the thirty-nine Articles of Religion should be dropped out of their present position as a sort of appendix to the Book of Common Prayer.

This last action was taken without opposition in the interest of the present peace of the Church, although there is a pretty general consensus of opinion that the Articles must ultimately be removed from their present place, as they are in many respects antiquated and inappropriate in a Book of Common Prayer, and as they contain highly controversial statements regarding ecclesiastical and theological matters which suggest the sixteenth rather than the twentieth-century outlook.

Impressive Public Services

The most noteworthy and memorable public events of the convention were beyond question the opening service in the open-air amphitheater on Washington Cathedral Close, and the service in the uncompleted cathedral choir in connection with the presentation of the Women's Thank Offering. The former took place under perfect weather conditions and in a perfect setting on the morning of Wednesday, October 10. There were 17,000 people present. Some 130 bishops in their robes, 500 clergy in their vestments, and a large vested choir formed the procession which entered the top of the amphitheater by the Peace Cross, from which there is a glorious view of the capital.

It was at this service that the President of the United States delivered his memorable address on "Religion and the Nation," and that Bishop Anderson of Chicago made his plea for a "free Church in a free State," and urged "a free and courageous pulpit which will not shun to declare the whole counsel of God." The sermon lasted fifty-three minutes but was delivered with such solidity of thought and vigor of presentation, such aptness of illustration, such earnestness and yet lightness of touch, such breadth and spirituality, that it held the attention of the entire congregation throughout. I heard one of the leading diplomats in Washington say afterwards that it was the most philosophical discussion of the relation of Church and State in a Democracy that he had ever heard. I may add that it was unquestionably one of the strongest sermons to which it has ever been my privilege to listen.

Another highly significant and impressive service of the convention was the Holy Communion in connection with the Women's Thank Offering. This was the first regular service ever held in the beautiful Gothic Choir of Washington Cathedral. It began at eight o'clock in the morning, but an hour before this time there were a thousand people in line. Three thousand five hundred and seven people received the Communion that morning in the Cathedral Choir and the Cathedral Chapels. In addition a couple of thousand people who could not get in went down in the amphitheater and held an impromptu song service under the lead of the Church Army. The fact that the Cathedral choir was not completed, with birds flying in and out the windows, added rather than detracted from the impressiveness of the scene, as fortunately the weather was perfect. A contribution of \$1,101,450.40 was made by the women of the Church as their offering to missions at this time.

The bishops at their closing meeting, thinking of these great services and of the useful part which they see that the Cathedral—although still only a fragment—has begun to play at the capital and through it in the nation, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved: That this House desires to put on record its appreciation of the great and inspiring service and influence of the work being done and being pushed forward to completion by the

Cathedral Corporation of Washington, under the marvelous leadership of the Bishop of Washington. The at present unfinished building crowning St. Albans Hill and the wonderful public services being held within its walls and at its feet excited in us all sentiments and feelings of profound consciousness of the importance and stimulating effect of this movement to God's glory and for the edification of men. It is a factor of instruction in art and architecture and above all in spiritual impulse and endeavor and we assure the Bishop of Washington and his Chapter that we pray a blessing on their great undertaking.

Undoubtedly the returning delegates and visitors will all carry back this message to their homes, thereby aiding the efforts the cathedral authorities are making to provide the necessary means for the completion in the near future of the crossing and transepts—the next units to be undertaken.

The three most notable marks of this recent gathering at Washington seem to me to have been harmony, breadth of outlook, and depth of consecration. The delegates realized that the Church was broader than any group, and that the elements in it which tend toward the Catholic and Protestant positions—when they do not go to extremes—both make their contribution to a rich and comprehensive view of religion and the Church. This was admirably brought out in the Bishop's Pastoral, which said:

The divisions among us are not to be mourned over. They are to be conquered. They are not causes for despair. They are challengers to the width of our vision, the depth of our love, the soberness of our wisdom, and the steadfastness of our loyalty. If Catholic and Protestant cannot find a way to live together and to worship together the Lord whom both adore, "then is our faith vain. We are yet in our sins."

On the whole, it was a forward-looking convention of Christian men who recognize that they form simply one of many Christian bodies whose ideal is to bring the Kingdom of God into the world, and who are determined that their branch of the Church Universal shall make its best possible contribution to the cause which its historic tradition and position suggest.

The whole body of delegates seem inspired to a depth of consecration which has seldom been equaled in our communion. May this inspiration long continue!

A Presbyterian Looks at Unity

BY HENRY SLOANE COFFIN, D.D.

President, Union Theological Seminary

SPEAKING both as a Presbyterian and as a teacher in an interdenominational seminary, I hail the action of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in seeking conferences looking toward further unity with Methodists and Presbyterians. I assume that these groups were selected, without prejudice to others, because both not only have historic ties and close kinship with Episcopalians in their doctrines and views of the sacraments, but also because they have a consciousness of the corporate oneness of the Christian Church and forms of government which attempt to express this solidarity.

At their General Conference last spring the Methodists made an overture to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church looking toward organic union. It would be most wise for representatives of these three great bodies to meet together and seek to explore their existing oneness, their dissimilarities, and the possibility of an inclusive organization which might embrace them all without sacrificing any part of their distinctive inheritances or impairing their freedom in Christ. No one to-day is eager for some lowest common denominator upon which all can agree, but rather is there search for some comprehensive arrangement which shall afford to each the liberty to believe his utmost, to worship at his fullest, and to work to the peak of his capacity.

There are several factors which make the discussion of unity opportune and hopeful:

One is the conclusion of historical students that in the primitive Church there were several forms of polity which grew up side by side in various localities. The early Church knew itself one, but a Christian in Rome might be under a Presbyterian régime, while a fellow-churchman in Syria might be a Congregationalist, and another in Asia might be an Episcopalian. Organic unity, with complete intercommunion and recognition of one another's status in the

Church, was consonant with diversities of order. This ought to be as true to-day. If it be once understood historically, no single form of polity will be insisted on as alone apostolic or divinely appointed. If Church government is viewed as something which developed according to local usage, it can readily be readjusted in our day.

A second is another result of the historical study of the New Testament making plain that there were divergences of belief in the Church of the First Century. All its members shared a new life with Christ in God; but they differed in their interpretation of many things. No doubt they had some convictions in common: all believed in God as their Father, in Jesus as their Lord, in the Spirit as the source of their life and powers. But there are several explanations of the divine origin of Jesus and several explanations of the significance of His cross. A development in the conception of the Holy Spirit can be traced from Pentecost to the epistles of Paul and the Gospel of John. Christians may agree in their underlying loyalties and convictions while they express themselves in differing creeds. Unity does not require doctrinal uniformity.

A third is the growing rapprochement in worship between liturgical and non-liturgical communions. The least formal and least churchly communions are building Gothic churches, adopting ecclesiastical symbolism, keeping the main festivals of the Church year, emphasizing the sacraments, and using prayers from the heritage of the Church; while the more formal and traditional communions are craving more freedom in worship, seeking variety in their prayers, adopting many of the methods of evangelism and social fellowship which have been developed in communions of an extreme Protestant tradition. Unconsciously Christians of many origins are flowing together and finding themselves enriched by what they borrow from heritages others than their own.

A fourth is the emphasis upon the social application of the Gospel. So long as the Christian life is viewed as an individual's relation to God and man, small churches may supply the individual with all the companionship in the Spirit which he feels he needs. But when the Christian life is thought of as the life of society in its industry, its politics, its education, its amusements, then no small sect of Christians is sufficient to Christianize society. It will take all the Christian forces of America to render America Christian; it

will require all the followers of Christ in the world to make it a Christian world. Divisions are irrelevant and wasteful.

All these pave the way for and impel us on to some expression of our already recognized unity in Christ. We must have an outward unification which shall make us aware of our spiritual oneness, which shall enable us to strengthen one another in God and to live more amply ourselves in Him, and which shall marshal us with all our resources to make Christ Master of every life and of the whole of life.

The Methodists on Record

BY WILLIAM FRASER McDOWELL
 Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church

AT THE hands of Bishop Brent I have received a copy of the action of the Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church regarding a conference with members of the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal Churches on the subject of Union.

I have replied to Bishop Brent stating that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at its session in Kansas City in May created a commission on Church Union consisting of seven bishops, fifteen other ministers, and fifteen laymen. This commission is authorized "to make a careful study of the communication from the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne and to make a suitable response to it; to coöperate with that body, with the World Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm in 1925, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and other organizations seeking to promote understanding and coöperation between the various branches of the Christian Church." The commission is also authorized to make overtures to and receive overtures from like-minded churches looking toward closer coöperation and union. A committee of its members is authorized to enter such conferences and to begin such conversations as the action of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church and of the General

Assembly of the Presbyterian Church proposes.

Thus the Methodist Episcopal Church had already put itself in position to respond promptly to such overtures as have now been made. Indeed, the action taken at Kansas City was intended to *constitute* overtures to all churches like-minded with our own on the subject of closer relations and even union.

The Methodist Episcopal Church feels as keenly as any the fact of the division of Protestantism into such hard-and-fast denominational organizations. And I think we feel as keenly as any that, whatever the historical occasions were which led to the organization of these denominations, the original reasons have in many cases long since ceased to exist, and that now the reasons for union are immeasurably more compelling and urgent than are the surviving reasons for separation.

I am sure, therefore, that in any such conferences as may be had between the Presbyterians, Protestant Episcopalians, and Methodist Episcopalians, the representatives of our church will be found with their faces set toward the future, with broad and open minds, and with a genuine fraternal and evangelical spirit. One could wish that, as he studies this question from all possible angles, the way to Protestant Union did not seem so full of difficulties or so long.

An Adventurer Among Architects

WHEN the proposed seventy-five-story Chicago Tower and Apparel Mart is completed, Chicago will have the tallest and largest building in the world; and one of its native sons, Walter Ahlschlager, will have the distinction of having designed the largest theater, the biggest club building, and the biggest commercial building in the world.

Mr. Ahlschlager follows in the footsteps of his uncle and his father, who were well-known Chicago architects. But in building economics he is a pioneer and one of the first adventurers among architects to advocate the multi-purpose skyscraper, the huge building that houses many classes of tenants under a single roof—a city within itself.

It is the firm conviction of Mr. Ahlschlager that by concentrating business activities under one roof, business efficiency is gained. He always insists, however, on the proper placement of his buildings in order that all sources of light and air may be protected.

The Apparel Mart building is now in process of financing and leasing. In the meantime, its energetic designer finds plenty to do completing the new Woolworth Building on State Street, several park buildings in Chicago, and three motion-picture houses in New York. Mr. Ahlschlager designed the Roxy Theater in New York, and when his plans were made known people familiar with theatrical conditions were of the opinion that a theater built on such a huge scale would fail. But Mr. Ahlschlager was not so easily discouraged. Cheerful and in full confidence he went

ahead with his plans, and to-day the Roxy Theater stands and faces the world of scoffers in the happy condition of being a tremendous success; a credit to the genius and vision of its designer, and a fitting testimonial to the man whose name the theater bears. This was Mr. Ahlschlager's initial venture into gigantic building enterprises. The idea so intrigued him that he bent every effort toward making the venture a success, and when that was assured he turned his talents to other and even larger projects.

The Medinah Club in Chicago, a structure forty-two stories high, is now practically completed, and it will not be long before the Apparel Building is started. After that—well, Mr. Ahlschlager is given to soaring when he plans, and perhaps he has higher buildings still in mind.

This Apparel Mart structure is a masterpiece in conception. It is really four buildings in one—an apparel mart, an office building, a transient hotel, and a mechanical garage. Towering 880 feet into the air, it will dominate the metropolis of the Midwest. It will be built above the tracks of the Illinois Central Railroad, which will maintain huge underground freight platforms beneath the tower. Freight elevators, chutes and conveyors to the platforms will be features. There will be direct free connection, via the Underground Belt Line Railway, with twenty-eight freight stations in Chicago, and direct connection via the Chicago River for water-borne commerce.

The building will occupy seventy-six acres of floor space on nineteen floors, suf-



WALTER AHLSSLAGER

ficient to house the entire mid-western representation of the men's apparel and allied industries. Limited manufacturing will be permitted, but the space primarily will be for display, sales and storage purposes, and the offices of tenants in and allied to the apparel industry.

The Tower will be devoted to offices from the twenty-fifth to the seventy-fifth floor. Thirty express elevators will serve the tower offices, some having their first upward stop at the twenty-fourth floor, others at the forty-fourth. Provision has also been made for large offices along the Wacker Drive front and from the fifth to the twenty-third floor at the front of the building.

The southeast corner of the Tower will be given over to hotel use. There will be 440 guest chambers, all having a splendid outlook over the waters of Lake Michigan. Sound-proof walls will isolate the hotel from other portions of the structure, and a battery of six high-speed elevators will serve it exclusively. To all intents and purposes, this unit of the building will be a separate one, its only connection with other units being through the ground floor lobby.

The twenty-fourth floor is to be shared by two large social organizations, the Industrial Club of America and the Apparel Club. Swimming pools, gymnasium, handball courts, and Turkish baths will not be forgotten.

An outstanding unit will be a mechanical garage. This will extend from the street level to the twenty-third floor and will introduce an entirely new principle of operation. The garage will consist of stalls suspended on a chain, one above another, in the fashion of a Ferris wheel. A car will be driven into a stall at the street level, whereupon a hydraulic lift will elevate it eight feet, bringing another stall into position. As new cars are stored, the operation will be repeated until cars reaching the twenty-third floor move automatically to a descending

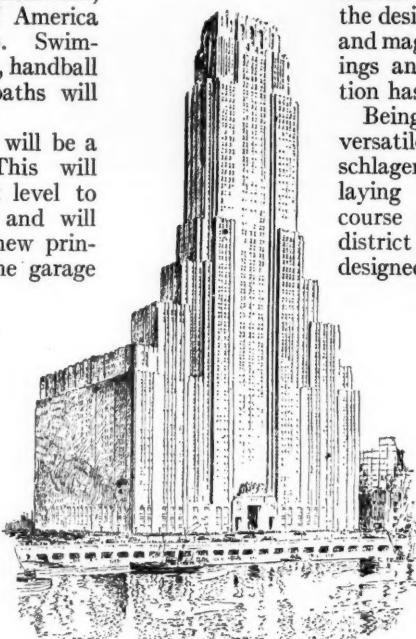
chain. It is estimated that it will be possible to store a car in six seconds, and that the longest wait for delivery of a car from storage will be three and one-half minutes.

One will readily see from a perusal of the foregoing facts that Mr. Ahlschlager, as an architect, is going forward with giant strides and climbing steadily upward toward the clouds. He began his career by designing Lutheran Seminary buildings and from the first has displayed a tendency to take a chance and attempt the unprecedent in architecture. Linked with this faculty is a happy talent for arousing enthusiasm among those interested in the various projects upon which he is engaged, and for winning their confidence and respect. They soon come to share his large views and "visionary dreams" as some people are prone to characterize them when discussing his plans.

Mr. Ahlschlager, now forty years old, obtained his architect's license before he had completed his third year at Armour Institute. His father's death necessitated his taking over contracts held by the elder Ahlschlager, and as they had to do with the designing and construction of church edifices much of his work has been in the church-building field, but it is in the designing and creation of large and magnificent commercial buildings and plants that his reputation has been achieved.

Being a golf fan, as well as a versatile individual, Mr. Ahlschlager took keen delight in laying out the Evanston golf course and the fine residential district surrounding it. He has designed several of the large apartment hotels in Chicago and has attracted wide attention by reason of his efforts to combine beauty with utility, notable instances being the Beatrice Creamery plant in Chicago, that covers an entire city block, and the Schultze bakery there.

Mr. Ahlschlager's friends consider him not only a genius among architects, but an artist as well.

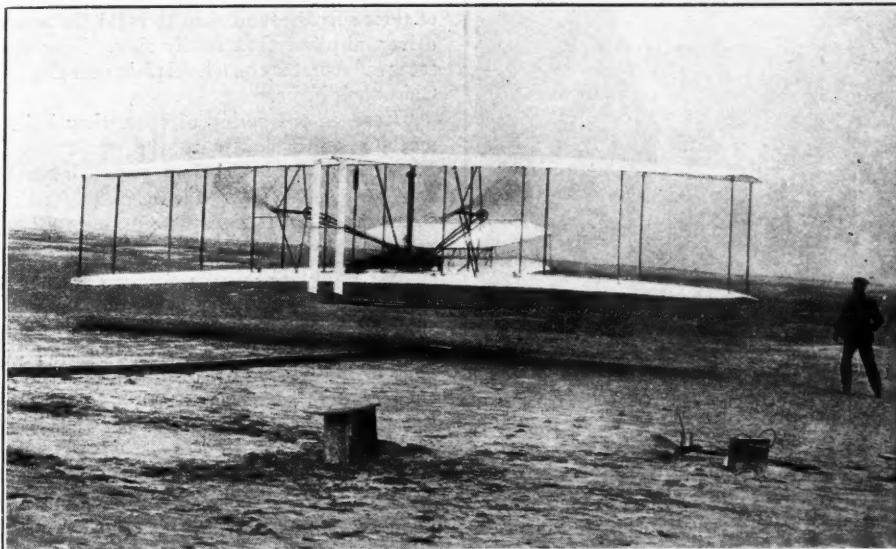


THE APPAREL MART IN CHICAGO

As it will appear when completed.

Leading Articles

Aviation ~ World Affairs ~ Letters ~ Religion ~ Travel



THE FIRST FLIGHT EVER MADE IN AN AIRPLANE

On December 17, 1903—just a quarter century ago—this flight was made by the original Wright airplane at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. Orville Wright was at the controls, and his journey through the air lasted twelve seconds.

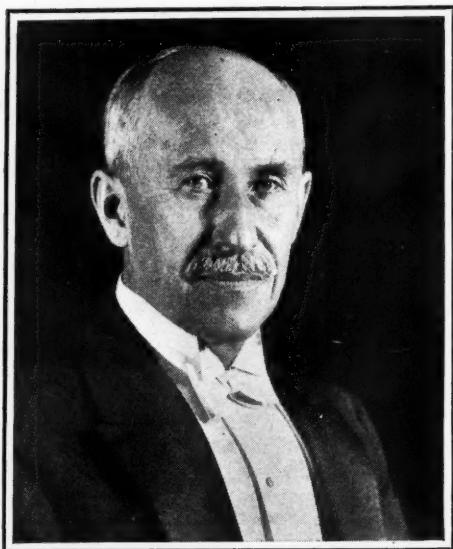
The Men Who Gave Us Wings

DURING the night of December 16, 1903, a strong, cold wind blew from the north over the marshes and sand dunes of Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. It was over those windy, sandy stretches that on the next morning—just twenty-five years ago this month—man for the first time flew in an airplane.

The flight was, of course, the work of the Wright brothers. Three days before a first attempt at flight had been made, with slight damage to the plane, but it had ended almost before it had begun. Now, however, repairs were finished, and in a biting cold wind the brothers worked to prepare their flyer, as it was called. A launching track had to be set up, the launching mechanism then necessary put in order, and the plane set upon it.

It was Orville Wright's turn to try. He tested the motor, found it satisfactory, released the wire that held the machine, and started forward into the wind. Wilbur ran at the side of the track, holding the wing to balance the plane on the track. Slowly the plane pushed forward into the wind—and flew.

"The course of the flight up and down," Orville Wright said later, "was exceedingly erratic, partly due to the irregularity of the air, and partly to lack of experience in handling this machine. . . . The machine would rise suddenly to about ten feet and then as suddenly dart for the ground. A sudden dart when a little more than 100 feet from the end of the track, or a little more than 120 feet from the point at which it rose into the air, ended the flight. It lasted only twelve seconds, but it was, nevertheless, the first in the history of the world in which a machine carrying a man had raised itself by its own power into the air in



ORVILLE WRIGHT AS HE APPEARS TODAY

full flight, had sailed forward without reduction of speed, and had finally landed at a point as high as that from which it started."

Mr. Wright's words, and the story of the Wright brothers' work in aviation, appear in an article in *World's Work* by Lieut. Lester J. Maitland, who, less than twenty-four years after that original flight of the Wrights, piloted the monoplane which first flew the 2,400 miles between the Pacific Coast and Hawaii.

"The Wrights after that first glorious flight did not declare a holiday and go in search of laurels to rest upon," says Lieutenant Maitland. "Three more flights were made in rapid succession—the brothers alternating at the controls. Probably more would have taken place had not the fourth flight ended in a crash that caused wreckage requiring two days for repairs. But those repairs were never made. As the Wrights stood near the plane discussing their fourth flight, which lasted 59 seconds and covered 852 feet, a gust of wind lifted the machine, turned it over, and damaged it so extensively that further flying that year was out of the question."

Curiously enough, it was nearly five years before the country at large believed that man had actually flown. Only a few days before the Wrights' success the attempts of Professor Samuel Langley, conducted in the light of an unsought publicity, had failed for lack of a

motor such as the Wrights had evolved. This made the public incredulous, convincing it that human flight was an idle dream.

Quietly the Wrights worked on. They had pioneered and experimented through seven years of painstaking labor, first to build a glider that would fly, then to invent a method of controlling its balance in the air—the secret of their success—and then to build the power-driven airplane that finally flew. Now they set up a laboratory on a level plain near Dayton, Ohio, their home.

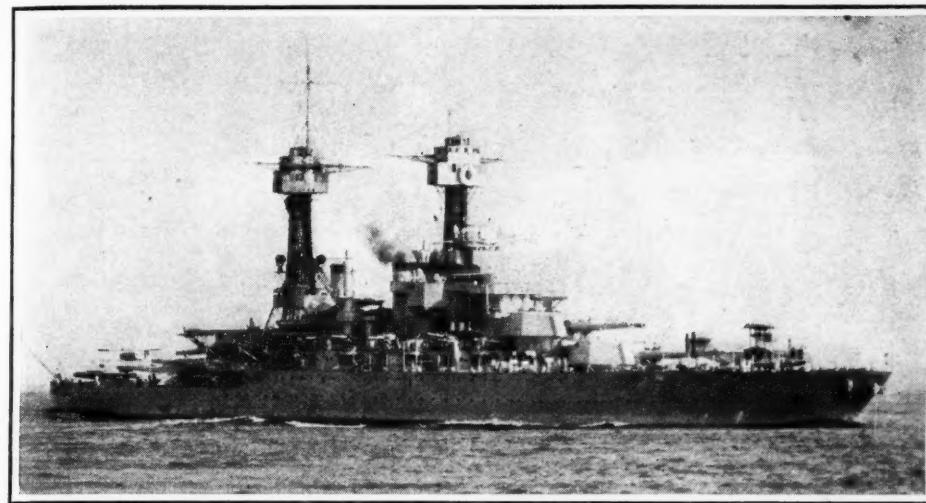
"Here, in the spring of 1904, they built a machine quite similar to the one flown at Kitty Hawk the year before, although heavier and stronger," says Lieutenant Maitland. "Numerous flights took place during 1904 and 1905. Many improvements, especially with respect to lateral control, were made. It was not until late in 1905 that the Wrights felt they were on the home-stretch—that they had a plane that was airworthy, controllable, and able to fly under its own power. Further changes were added as the flights continued, but they were refinements rather than basic improvements."

But with technical success the Wrights faced financial defeat. Few who had not seen them fly with his own eyes would believe, even four years and more after the first flight, that man had flown an airplane; and it was investigation of rumors that the Wrights had flown by France that finally paved the way to recognition.

At the same time the American War Department, recognizing possible value in the attempts to fly now being made in most civilized countries, invited experimenters to submit plans for planes that should do what then seemed impossible—fly forty miles an hour, carry fuel and oil for 125 miles, remain up an hour (flights of one minute, except the unobserved ones of the Wrights, had yet to be made), and carry a passenger.

The Wright plane met the test. Orville Wright astonished the country with his demonstrations to the Army at Fort Meyer, Virginia, while Wilbur startled Europe with his flights in France. Here was no rickety contraption rising from the ground for a few score seconds, but a passenger-carrying plane with a roaring motor, a plane that could climb high, and fly in figure eights and circles.

"As 1908 appears on the calendar," writes Lieutenant Maitland, "the day of aviation be-



DEMONSTRATING THAT THE PAROCHIAL AMERICA IS PASSING

The U. S. *Maryland*, one of the Navy's newer battleships, selected by President-elect Hoover for his trip to Latin America. Mr. Hoover's tour is taken as an indication of the fact that the country realizes the growing importance of foreign relations in its own affairs.

gins to dawn, and brilliantly outlined against the rays of its rising sun are the Wright brothers, who, before the end of the year, were destined to set the hearts and minds of the peoples of two continents aflame with a veritable bonfire of enthusiasm."

Wilbur Wright died of typhoid fever in 1912. His brother still lives quietly in Dayton. It is a memorable anniversary for him that the nation will celebrate on December 17, 1928.

The Passing of Parochial America

NOT ALL the great events of history are those which are easily seen through some immediate, definite, act of government. The deeper currents of public opinion are those which gain their movement almost unobserved, and with quiet but irresistible power sweep from their moorings the prejudices and time-worn conceptions of the past, and carve out for themselves new channels as they go.

This is what has been happening to the United States since the World War, in the opinion of Prof. James T. Shotwell of Columbia. Professor Shotwell, one of the expert and sincere workers for international peace in this

country, believes that the decade since fighting ceased has begun to transform the outlook of the American citizen on international affairs.

"What I refer to," he writes in *Current History*, "is the passing of parochial America. This is something more far-reaching than the issues involved in Washington's farewell address or Jefferson's first inaugural. Neither Washington nor Jefferson was parochial in outlook. The policy of abstention from the affairs of other nations may be based upon a knowledge and understanding of them; it is parochial only when it is the expression of self-satisfied ignorance."

Parochial politics, he explains, are those which, ignoring the outside world, rely upon inherited prejudices for the support of opinion and of policy. The distinctive mark of parochialism is not so much aloofness from the world as distrust of it—a distrust which increases isolation by erecting barriers to the open understanding of the ways and outlook of other peoples.

In other words, to keep our skirts clear from contact with the rest of the world merely from a vague idea that freedom from entangling alliances has been good in the past, is one thing. To do so intelligently, in view of a deep understanding of strictly modern conditions, is another. But that is not all:



SIGNING THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

From a mural painting in the Supreme Court at the Wisconsin State Capitol. Students of political science point out that the Constitution, the framework of our government, is adapted to modern society with increasing difficulty.

"While the inherent conservatism of American foreign policies has withstood the impact of the new order of things which found expression in the League of Nations," Professor Shotwell declares, "the gathering force of growing enlightenment in public opinion has at last begun to make its effect felt in other ways." He points to the nation-wide demand for reduction of the huge navy building program of last winter, and to the enthusiasm for the Kellogg Treaty, as signs that a change in outlook has begun.

If it seems paradoxical to say that this country became more liberal internationally in the very decade marked by a powerful reaction in its international activities, continues Professor Shotwell, that is because we tend to look only at overt acts like rejection of the League and the World Court. Under the surface, he insists, is growing "a new appreciation of the fact that any major event taking place in distant corners of the world for which the United States has no initial responsibility is almost sure to involve this country sooner or later."

What is more, this interest is at bottom not academic but practical. "There has been a simple feeling of dissatisfaction at the failure to make good the high promises of the early days of American participation in the war. Only a cynic can rest satisfied with his sneer at the results of 'a war to end war,' and public opinion . . . is not cynical at heart."

Creaks in the Constitution

"**I**NDEED, it is almost impossible to imagine how any system of government reasonably deducible from the Constitution can be suited to modern American life or expressive of the mystical will of the people."

With these words Henry R. Luce, editor of *Time*, joins the ranks of those who are troubled by the way in which the national life of to-day is putting a strain on the Constitution not dreamed of when that foundation of our government was laid down.

"The Constitution was made for a country almost totally agricultural," writes Mr. Luce in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, "for people whose garments and amusements were made in the home. It was made for people who were isolated, for people who had great distrust for a central government, but who also were able to know their representatives personally; and among whom politics was, at the very least, a major and continuing diversion."

The Constitution was made for people who were intensely individualistic, continues Mr. Luce, and yet who, State by State, were bound together by a natural allegiance to a common morality. "The present contrast to all this need not be labored," observes Mr. Luce; "it is discernible in any movie house anywhere any night."

As typical of the modern forces which have sprung up to strain the ancient framework of our Constitution, he mentions among others federal radio control, the increased power of the President, the Interstate Commerce Commission, reapportionment of seats in Congress, the income tax, and prohibition.

The fact that the Constitution has survived the changes of history at all, Mr. Luce ascribes to the Supreme Court, which bows to necessity and so interprets it that its provisions are made to apply to new problems as they come up.

Likewise he believes that in the long run it may be necessary to set up a new Constitution.

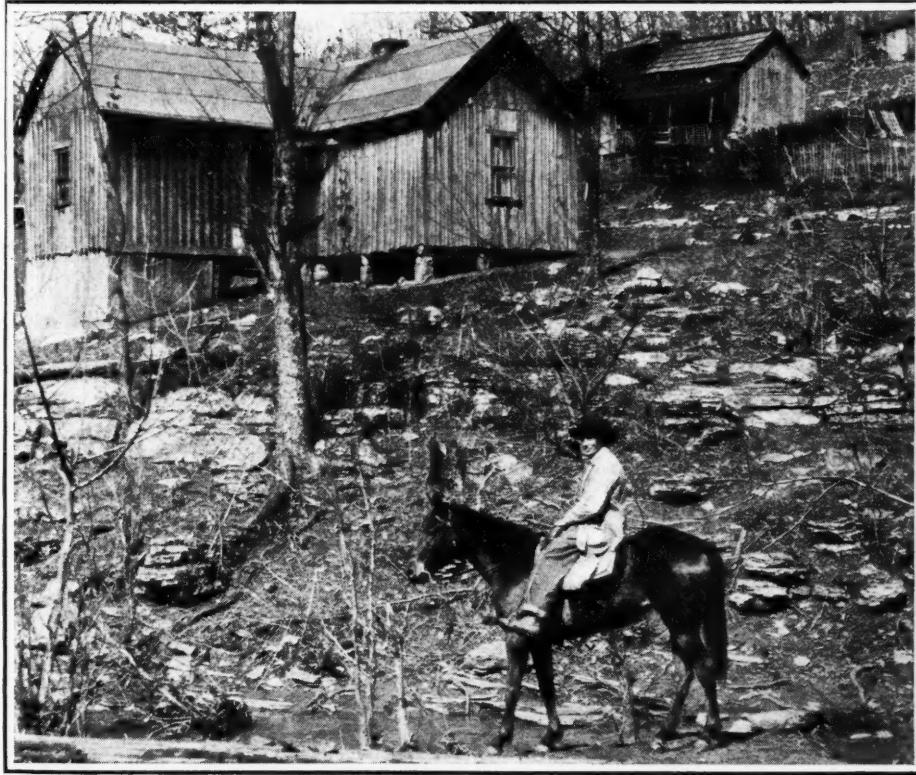
"If the Constitution of 1789 is unsuitable," he concludes, "and if, on the whole, it is desirable to have a Constitution, the alternative is a New Constitution. Many a conservative may indeed shiver at the thought of stirring up the animals by the excitement of a constitu-

tional convention. This is because new constitutions are associated with upheavals.

"But many a profounder conservative will perceive the wisdom of making a new constitution in a time of peace and plenty. Meanwhile, every liberal must rejoice at the prospect of a people once again animated by a patriotic concern for the virtue of the State and once again convinced of its ultimate responsibility for the health of society."

The Other America

ALTHOUGH most of us fail to realize it, there are in reality two distinct Americas. One is our vaunted land of progress, prosperity, and education; the other lies under the shadow of ignorance, poverty, and disease. This Other America is typified by the "poor whites" of



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

IN THE OTHER AMERICA, WHERE A HORSE IS A MAN'S MOST VALUABLE POSSESSION

A settlement in the mountains of Kentucky, where there is hardly a road worthy the name. Note the poor appearance of the houses, and the stony soil which makes farming difficult.

the Southern Appalachians, where Seventeenth Century characters regard the law as a natural enemy, and where all those living more than ten miles away are regarded as "furriners" and outcasts.

The breed also exists in Aroostook County, Maine; in Clinton and Franklin Counties, New York; in Berks, Lancaster, and York Counties, Pennsylvania; and in Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri, North Carolina, Kentucky, and many other States. In fact our national illiteracy reaches 6 per cent.—a ratio higher than that of nine other nations, while in some States it reaches 18 percent.

"Perhaps you have had a glimpse of the conditions I am talking about," writes Lewis F. Carr in the December *Century*. "You may have seen from your Pullman window some pitifully poor shacks, and in the field, two bull yearlings with their tails tied together yoked to a piece of a plow—or perhaps a single steer hitched to a primitive cart. . . . The family living in that shack is probably totally illiterate, is probably suffering from two, three, four, or even five serious diseases, is living in dirt and squalor, has no idea of sanitation, and finally presents a challenge to the statements that have been issuing for the past several years from this nation's leaders of thought."

Mr. Carr has lived among the people of whom he writes. Although it has become the fashion to predict that in a few years the United States will be free from poverty, illiteracy, and disease, Mr. Carr believes this can be true only of urban districts. In the rest of America "there is too much territory to cover, too much distance to travel, too large a void to fill, too many obstacles to overcome and too much lack of knowledge on the part of those who would spread this gospel and who now prophesy its early general acceptance."

Despite the advent of machinery, on roughly two-fifths of our farms one man is still doing the work of one man after the style of a hundred and fifty years ago. School-teachers there are paid sixty-five dollars a month. There are probably ten million Other Americans in the country—families who do not own their homes, who make no property return whatever, who seldom see newspapers or magazines, and who never read books or Bibles. These renters live on a family income of perhaps \$250 a year; some have only \$150. Mr. Carr concludes:

"So you see that all these things combined give us of the hinterlands a slightly different

conception of America than yours, an America that can hardly accept the statements that your leaders of thought are making. . . . In fact, almost all our thoughts about life are different from yours, except perhaps our thoughts on the subject of patriotism."

Patching Up the Mississippi

BEFORE undertaking to plan their flood control for the Mississippi Valley, Government engineers [calculated mathematically the greatest flood ever likely to occur. This gigantic inundation, known as a super-flood, would require floods on the upper Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, Arkansas and Red Rivers all at once. This, of course, is a remote eventuality—but the high waters of last year were not far from it.

The task of preparing for this super-flood was found to present many problems peculiar to the Mississippi. They could not be met by applying flood-control methods used, for example, on the Nile, the Amazon or the Yangtze. One of the first and obvious suggestions was that the channel should be deepened and straightened in many places, but this was found impracticable, because the soft banks of the river will not bear a drop of more than four inches to the mile. Straightening the channel increases this drop and results in a more rapid erosion, which the levees cannot be made to stand.

Writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Harris Dickson summarizes the plans which are now being carried out. "Instead of straightening the bends, Uncle Sam will spend from this appropriation the better part of \$100,000,000 to keep Father [Mississippi] crooked, to keep his kinks and curlicues exactly where they are. Caving banks must be stopped, for they mean a constant moving back and changing of levee lines. All of which costs money and consumes the most valuable land. Furthermore, erosions and cut-offs deposit sand-bars in the path of navigation, which must be dredged out. By various forms of revetment and bank protection, Uncle Sam does his best to stabilize the present channel."

However, merely building levees is not enough to control a super-flood. Consequently two major additional measures are being taken. In the first place, a set-back levee seventy miles



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

LAYING ROWS OF WILLOW TREES TO PREVENT EROSION OF A MISSISSIPPI RIVER BANK

long is being built in Missouri which will provide a floodway to relieve inundation when there is too much water for the regular channel to hold.

In the second place, a "fuse plug" is provided by means of which the flood waters of the lower Mississippi can be diverted through another channel to the Gulf. It is the opinion of engineers that nature had already provided this extra channel through Cypress Creek, the Atchafalaya Basin, and Bœuf River, and that the disastrous flood of last spring was caused in part by the fact that Cypress Creek was closed by a levee. Under the present plan, the levee at that point will be so made that it will break under a super-flood, and thus protect the lower river, particularly at New Orleans. While this may seem unjust to the farmers in the neighborhood of Cypress Creek, the Government says:

"The plan proposes protection works to guard against a super-flood. It does not produce any extra water, neither does it turn out of the river any water that has not always left the main river, and that will not go out anyway if a super-flood occurs. In fact, the main river is to be prepared to carry more water than ever before, and excess water will be directed and restrained to places where it does the least damage."

In other words, absolute prevention of floods is impossible, but hereafter they will occur only where the government allows them, and inhabitants will have ample warning.

Amazon, Portia, and Joan of Arc

HERE is a Turkish woman who has been a novelist, legislator, educator, organizer of hospitals, soldier, journalist, and humanitarian. She has been adviser to Mustapha Kemal, dictator of the Turkish Republic, and corporal in an army under fire. Her life reads like five or six novels; and her name is Halidé Edib Hanoum.

This remarkable woman Mildred Adams describes in the *Woman's Journal*, saying:

"Madame Halidé has with reason been called the Jeanne d'Arc of Turkey and the Jane Addams of Turkey. She might with equal reason be called the Horace Mann of Turkey, the H. G. Wells of Turkey, the Florence Nightingale and the Lady Astor of Turkey. . . . Her English has the merest delightful trace of an accent. Her manner is cosmopolitan, of the type one associates with cultured French or Russian women. Her black clothes, the cut of the dark hair on her beautifully molded head, are quietly Parisian."

She came to the United States to tell of the East before the Institute of Politics at Williams-town this year—the first woman ever invited to speak in that learned assembly. "She has a faculty of lifting Turkey from the realm of the legendary and making it very real." The

psychology of her countrymen, she believes, is more akin to that of the Nordic races than to the Latins, and their revolution she characterizes as a surging up of the people themselves, a sort of flowering of the needs and desires of a whole nation.

Madame Halidé was the first Moslem girl to secure her B.A. degree from the American College for Girls in Constantinople, becoming a liberal leader in politics and a successful writer of fiction. Married early in life, her two sons have been brought up in this country and educated at American colleges.

After the Angora government was established by the Turkish republic, Madame Halidé served in the National Assembly in close coöperation with the new leaders. But as Mustapha Kemal assumed the reigns of government, she found herself in increasing disagreement with his policies. "He wanted power for its own sake, and it lured him more than did the vision of a free Turkish people," she says.

With her husband and herself in hopeless opposition to the powers that were arising within the state, there was nothing to do but depart—and to-day Madame Halidé and her family reside in England. She feels no bitterness toward Mustapha Kemal and freely admits his commanding qualities. But she no longer works with him.

Bringing China the Three R's

TWO days after his graduation from Yale during the World War, Y. C. James Yen was sent to France. He was to do social work among the 200,000 Chinese coolies recruited by the Allies to dig trenches, manufacture munitions, and otherwise release French workers for fighting service at the front. What Mr. Yen learned among those laboring fellow country-

men of his in France gave him his life work—to bring to China, with its multiplicity of dialects and its lack of a popular written language, the ability to read and write. He has undertaken to make illiterate China literate.

Mr. Yen told of his plans before the annual meeting of the National Education Association at Minneapolis this year. His words are now published as an article in the *Journal* of that association.

"Belonging to a family of generations of Confucian scholars, I never associated with the laborers before the war," says Mr. Yen. But he found the coolies abroad industrious and intelligent. For all that most of them, homesick and ignorant concerning the war, could neither read nor write their own language. Thereupon he set out to give them the fundamentals of a Chinese language education. He found that at the end of half a year most of them—they ranged from twenty to fifty years in age—could write simple letters to their families at home, and read the small newspaper he published for them. And as they learned, Mr. Yen learned too.

"Over there in the labor camps I learned something of fundamental importance which I could never learn in a Chinese or American university," he says. "I realized as I never did or could before, the dire need of education of my fellow countrymen and at the same time their tremendous possibilities. . . . I made the resolution that upon my return to China I was going to give my life to the education and enlightenment of the millions and millions of my fellow countrymen who have been denied a normal opportunity of schooling."

Thus he returned to China to found the Chinese National Association of Mass Education. As in France, where he had to write his own primer, text-books were a problem. Using books, novels—everything he could find written in Pai-Hua, which is becoming the universal written language—he found 1,300



HALIDÉ EDIB HANOUM

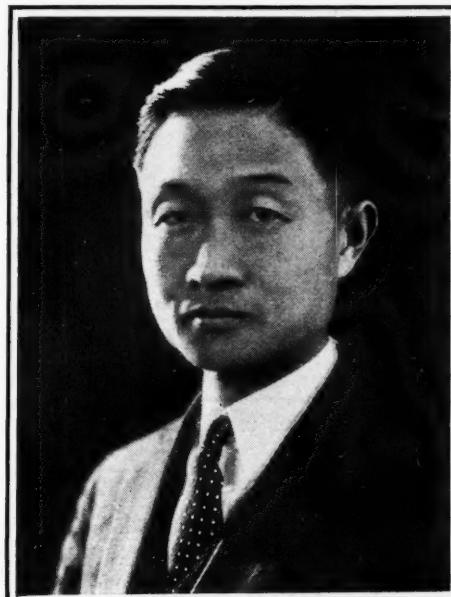
essential characters. These became the alphabet, and four readers were based on them. They cost only three cents each and take a laborer four months, working an hour a day, to cover. "Upon completion of these readers in the People's Schools," says Mr. Yen, "the average man is able to write business letters, keep accounts, and read Pai-Hua newspapers."

Putting the idea before the people was as much of a problem as preparing text-books. The first attempt was a campaign in Hunan province in March, 1922. A committee was formed there which, using Western publicity methods, put up posters, held parades, canvassed every home, and held meetings in public buildings. In two afternoons 1,400 illiterates were enrolled. Of these 1,200 stuck it

out to end of the course, and 967 were awarded diplomas as "Literate Citizens." Mr. Yen adds that conservative scholars, who at first disapproved of teaching anything but the classical language, were won over and established a Mass Education Association for the province.

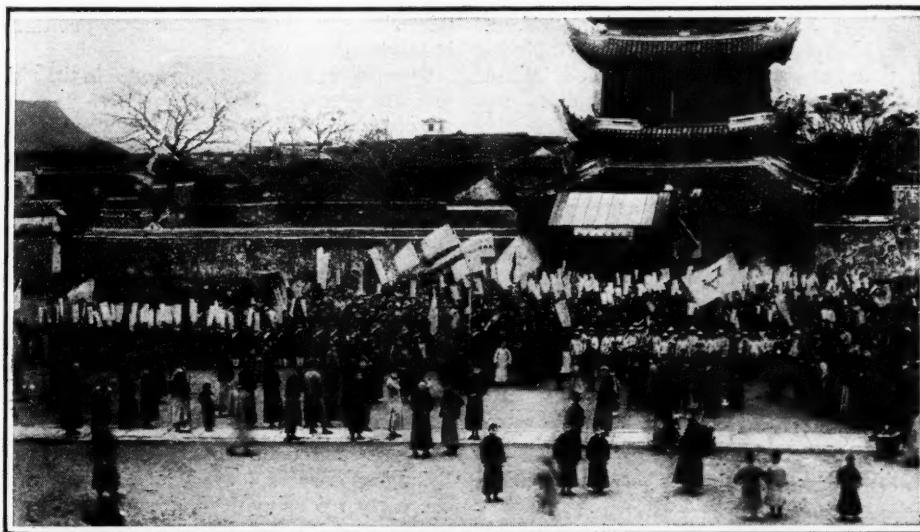
A second experiment, carried out in North China, proved even more successful. "Based on the sales of our books, the movement has about 5,000,000 students," Mr. Yen reports. He gives two reasons for this. First, the eagerness of the people themselves for education; and secondly,

"modern, educated men of today have come to realize as they never did before that if China is to take her rightful place among the nations, her masses must be educated."

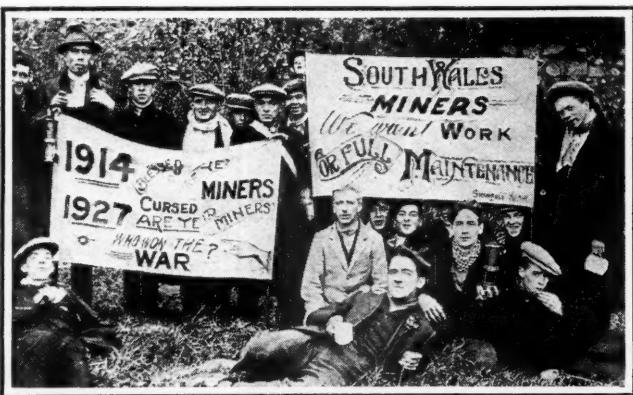


Y. C. JAMES YEN

A young graduate of Yale University who, after wartime social work among coolie labor battalions in France, has devoted his life to promoting literacy in China.



A PARADE TO BOOST THE CAUSE OF LITERACY, ON THE STREETS OF NINGPO, CHINA



PART OF GREAT BRITAIN'S ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED

Since the war Great Britain's coal industry has gone from bad to worse. This picture shows a group of Welsh miners who last year marched to London to attract attention to their plight.

Coal and the Dole

WHEN THE SLOW convulsions through which Great Britain's coal industry is passing are presented in their statistical intricacies, they seem cold and remote. But when presented in terms of men, Great Britain's national catastrophe takes on color and life. It is so presented in a letter by John Galsworthy, the author, published in the *Manchester Guardian*. He writes:

"I have recently visited a mining village, which shall be nameless, where two collieries are closed and a third wavers on the brink, so that some three-quarters of the miners are unemployed and the whole may quite possibly soon become so . . .

"This is one of the better centers of unemployment, because their fate only descended on them six months ago. There is no evident distress, the children are not as yet ill nourished. The men are still on the dole, have just enough to keep the wolf from the door. When in course of time the dole ceases and they come on the rates . . . they will still presumably not absolutely starve; but what a life is and will be theirs—idle, hopeless, and increasingly destitute! . . .

"I saw a good many miners of all ages, puzzled, dejected, but with very little bitterness as yet, having the English power of believing that something will turn up . . . They sit at home or stand about. Good folk,

friendly, patient—from father to son attached to their job, attached to their homes."

In one family the father, a strong, sturdy, cheerful man, showed Mr. Galsworthy the reference given him by the manager on the mine's closing: twenty-eight years in the same pit, most of them in a responsible position.

"I've got fifteen years' work left in me," said this man, "but what chance have I got of another job at fifty-six?"

Mr. Galsworthy disclaims attachment to any political party or to any scheme for solving the coal problem.

But pending the curative effect of some major solution of the problem, he urges that every palliative that might relieve the miners be pushed vigorously. Some government supervision should be set up, he believes, to see that a mine does not close suddenly, throwing a whole village out of work by one stroke of the pen. Young miners should be transferred to the open lands of the Dominions wherever possible, "before the rust of an enforced idleness has eaten into their character." Where there is free land available in England, they should be put upon it; and everywhere committees of miners' friends should be formed to put them in touch with such work as may be found.

Of nearly 1,200,000 men employed in the coal industry, declares Mr. Galsworthy, "nearly 300,000 are now unemployed, of whom over 200,000 must be regarded as permanently unemployed. This, with women and children, means that a million people are affected."

Great Britain Ponders Politics

WHILE this country, fresh from the overwhelming Republican success in the electoral college, wonders whether it has only one party left on the national scene, Great Britain approaches its general election with one party too many. Accustomed to a two-party system, it finds itself once more divided among the Unionists, the Liberals, and the

Laborites. None of the three promises to come out of the election stronger than the other two put together.

Mr. Lloyd George, leader of the Liberals, charged in a recent speech at Yarmouth that a conspiracy existed between the Labor and Unionist parties to defeat Liberal candidates. Mr. Philip Snowden, speaking for the Labor party, immediately denied this, insisting that the conspiracy was between the Liberals and Unionists against the Laborites.

Both the London *Spectator* and the *Manchester Guardian* agree that Messrs. George and Snowden are conducting a sham battle. For, they say, if the election fails to give any party a working majority, it is evident that Liberals and Laborites must combine against the present party in power.

Lloyd George carefully left a way open for such an alliance when he said, "There is a vast and fertile territory common to men of progressive mind in all parties which they could agree to cultivate together for a time without abandoning any ideals and principles which they cherish."



By Low, in the London *New Statesman*

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN

Chancellor of the Exchequer in Great Britain's first Labor Government, and a prominent figure in the Labor Party.

Commenting on this Mr. Snowden replied, "I agree with what he said, in two respects, that if there be a situation like that the King's Government will have to be carried on, and, therefore, some understanding will have to be reached between the two or three parties in the House of Commons."

At the same time the situation indicates that because the present English electoral system was designed for two parties, it is often grossly unfair when applied to three. In 1924, for the first time in British history, a Labor party came into office, and it is now evidently firmly established in its rivalry with the older two.

But under the present "outrageously unfair electoral system," as Mr. Lloyd George calls it, the people do not always succeed in expressing their will. In a recent local election in Tavistock, for example, the Unionist candidate was elected by a plurality of only 173 votes over his Liberal opponent, while the Labor candidate also received many votes. By adding the votes of the Liberal and Labor candidates there was a majority of 2,276 votes against the present



By Low, in the London *New Statesman*

MR. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

Former Prime Minister of Great Britain, and now active as head of the Liberal Party.

Government, which nevertheless gains an additional member in the House of Commons.

Lloyd George promises that his party will undertake to secure a reasonable system of returning members. Of this, the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* says, "It is too easily assumed by cynics that the Liberals will be helpless in the matter. . . . In the event of no party securing a majority, a persistent declaration that five million voters will not be satisfied unless they secure just representation will have a disconcerting effect upon the other parties."

While no specific plan is given, it is supposed that the representation of the three parties would be made proportional to the total vote cast in a general election, instead of having the make-up of the House of Commons decided by the vote in each separate district.

Bunting and Politics in Germany

LIKE SO MANY other countries, Germany is using the present autumn as a vantage point from which to look back over an historic decade. In December of 1918 the entire nation was already plunged into that turmoil of revolution and despair from which it hardly emerged until the black days of inflation had ended, five years

later. Now an inquiry into the changes since those hectic years has been made by Felix Walter, who writes his impressions for the *Queen's Quarterly* of Queen's University, Canada.

Mr. Walter was struck by the intensity of political feeling in Germany, of which he saw the outward sign in the flags of brightly colored bunting everywhere displayed. On reaching the country he had found the Reich deep in a general election, "with civic passions at white heat and every stick and staff and mast in the land seemingly conscripted to bear its fullest weight of symbolic bunting." A leisurely trip allowed him to make a thorough investigation of this bunting and of the currents of opinion for which it stood. These, in brief, were the questions he asked and the answers he found:

"Will the Kaiser get his throne back?"—"No."

"Is the Republican spirit strong?"—"It is."

"Will Germany ever go Red?"—"Perhaps."

"Will she ever become reconciled to her western frontiers?"—"In time."

"To her eastern frontiers—the Polish Corridor, Danzig, Silesia?"—"Never."

In Cologne Mr. Walter saw the *Schwarzrotgold*, the new German republican flag, for the first time; he calls it "startlingly modern, almost futuristic, and yet with that Teutonic blend of something from the Middle Ages." This flag had assumed the proportions of a major



RED FLAGS AND EFFIGIES—A COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATION IN BERLIN

political problem, for Germans either adored it or execrated it. Republicans of course cherished it, while nationalists swore by the Red, White, and Black of the old Empire, and communists by the revolutionary Red of Moscow.

Only the most expensive hotel in Cologne bore the Imperial colors, while the black-red-gold of the republicans was everywhere to be seen. Hamburg was also predominantly republican, though 'round about the factory districts cabbages grow beneath the crimson of the Third International.' There was a nucleus of militarism at work among local sailors, who were celebrating the battle of Jutland when the writer was there. Then on to Berlin.

"The real Berlin," says Mr. Walter, "to me centers about the *Alexanderplatz* and a score of other working-class districts. Hundreds of thousands of red flags flutter from these windows on great 'days.' The Berlin that really mattered seemed to me to be Communist. It should be remembered, I think, that after all Marxism was made in Germany," and that its revised version is not so exotic a doctrine to the Central as to the Western European.

Two hundred thousand Communists paraded before Mr. Walter's eyes, with massed bands playing the Internationale, while "every second person in the crowd seemed to be wearing a red rosette or one of the bronze 'sympathizer' badges that were sold on the streets. That is why I say that Communism is the thing that impressed me most in Berlin."

The Saxons of Dresden and the Thuringians of Weimar Mr. Walter found to be good Germans, but at the same time enthusiastic autonomists and upholders of the states' rights doctrine. At Eisenach he saw a few soldiers—the first he had found in Germany save for two sentries at Berlin—and many hundreds of walkers. For "in the summer young Germany rises up and walks, anywhere, everywhere. In reality all Germany has become seriously infected by the virus of athleticism."

Then came a trip down the Rhine and up the Moselle rivers, and with it realization that the Allied occupation of German territory is never far from the German mind. The people of the occupied regions are in despair, the French conscripts are homesick, and only the British "Tommies" seem in good spirits as they kick their footballs about. There is less friction than formerly, but a rather heedless flaunting of the French flag and the presence of colored troops have done much harm.



From *De Groene Amsterdamer*

"THE MONARCH AD INTERIM"

A caricature of the new president of the German Nationalist party, Herr Hugenberg. Since the last elections this party has lost prestige, but it is still powerful.

Democracy Versus Dictatorship

WHAT is democracy, and by what standards may it be judged? Is it not a condition under which any citizen may aspire to the highest privileges and responsibilities of the State, depending upon his own merits and not upon such matters as race, religion, sex, family, class, or station in life? And if this is a correct definition, cannot democracy operate as well under Fascism or Bolshevism—commonly called autocracies—as under the liberal governments of Great Britain and the United States? These questions are raised by John Palmer Gavit, in the November *Graphic Survey*.

Under both Mussolini and the Soviets democracy has been repudiated openly, and both systems rigorously exclude every form of political opposition. "It is quite arguable," Mr. Gavit finds, "that the Fascist system—or that of the Soviets, for that matter—might be preferable as a practical governmental system for the United States or elsewhere. As to



A SUCCESS OF THE ITALIAN DICTATORSHIP

Premier Mussolini burning a receipt for 140,000,000 lire in public debt certificates, on an ancient altar in Rome. His success in financial re-organization in a difficult period is pointed out as an argument in favor of dictatorships.

Italy, we do know that to all outside appearances Italy's present régime has brought about many improvements and done away with many evils. One is assured—and I personally believe it to be true—that the mass of the Italian people prefer the new conditions, the practical operation of the new system, to the old."

Yet it must be remembered that such a system as Fascism means the enthronement of one group, maintaining itself by force and suppressing by force every suggestion of change, and that such action justifies similar practices by any other group which seizes the power.

Therefore Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans who, in the interest of efficiency, may advocate dictatorships for their own countries, had best examine themselves candidly as to what would happen if the weapon so congenial for the establishment in power of their own group should fall into other hands. Concludes Mr. Gavit:

"It is all very well when the crowd in power is your own. But what have you left to say by way of protest when by some shift of power, some coup d'état, the whip gets into the clutches of those whom you and your kind have been able hitherto to keep in silence and subjection? Ask the Russians of the old régime, refugees scattered to the four corners of the earth, how it feels to be the victims of the methods of oppression under which they flowered so comfortably, thank you, when the shoe was on the other foot!"

Tokyo Goes Western

FIVE years after the earthquake and fires which destroyed most of Tokyo and Yokohama, those two cities find themselves becoming landmarks of Western civilization. At a cost of three-quarters of a billion dollars, they have been three-quarters rebuilt. The remodeling has been along strictly occidental lines, with wide streets, surface cars, and even subways. Several American engineers have been called in, and much of the construction machinery is American.

"To do all this involved a radical departure from the plan of old Tokyo," writes the Tokyo

Trade Commissioner, J. H. Ehlers, in the *Commerce Reports*. "It is difficult for westerners to appreciate the changes necessitated, and some of the regulations drawn up appear superfluous or unintelligent to them. A ruling that the building lines on any street, in the future, should be at least twelve feet apart, and that sidewalks hereafter should be placed on streets having exceptionally heavy traffic, gives an indication of the state of affairs that existed in pre-earthquake Tokyo with its Seventeenth Century design."

Along with the modernization goes an attempt to make an earthquake-proof city. The two cities were subjected to shocks even more severe in 1703 and 1855, but the damage in 1923 was much greater because of their growth in size; and as this increases the danger will increase.

Consequently bridges and buildings are now constructed which will withstand even moderately severe quakes, and fireproof buildings are used wherever it is possible. Certain zones of refuge have been established which will be entirely fireproof, and approximately safe no matter what happens.

A new modern highway has also been built between the two cities. This necessitated several new bridges, the longest of which is nearly 1,500 feet. It is constructed with two-hinged arches, since this type of bridge has withstood earthquakes in the past. The concrete roadway across it is forty-eight feet wide.

"Other important parts of the vast reconstruction program of these two Japanese cities include the allocation of parks; provision for schools, hospitals, markets, waterworks, electric stations, and power houses; and a zoning system—all along the most approved modern lines. Nothing could be said more truthfully of the Japanese than that the nation is determined to rebuild its capital as a modern city." And, for the first time, complete sewer systems are being installed, both in Tokyo and in Yokohama.

This regeneration of the Japanese cities has offered an excellent opportunity for the investment of American capital, and for the sale of American machinery, Mr. Ehlers says. Their modernization will provide a continuing market for American products which have not hitherto been used in Japan. For example, the Japanese are now buying luxurious American motor cars which could not possibly have been used in the streets of Tokyo as they were before the earthquake.



THE NEW JAPANESE AMBASSADOR REACHES
WASHINGTON

Mr. Katsushi Debuchi and (left to right) his son, wife, and daughter, photographed in Chicago on their way to the capital.

War and the New Constitutions

TWELVE European countries have become republics since the close of the war, and several others have adopted liberal constitutions. This is not without decided significance, both theoretical and practical, in the relations between nations. It means that instead of the pre-war theory that international law was a secondary affair, subordinate to national laws, most of these countries now hold that international law and treaty obligations are a part of the national laws of all countries which participate in them.

Monsieur B. Mirkin-Guetzvitch, writing in *L'Esprit International* (The International Mind) goes even farther than this. He maintains that all law is essentially international, and that any tendency to give one kind of law more validity than another is contrary to the fundamental nature of jurisprudence. Although this sounds abstract in the extreme, it is such factors which may determine whether an

inferno of blood-letting by shot and shell like that of ten years ago will come again or not.

M. Mirkin-Guetzvitch supports his point of view by quotations from the constitutions of many new European Governments—particularly those of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland—which include definite recognition of the supremacy of international obligations.

The author gives examples, moreover, of several other ways in which the new European constitutions illustrate this international-mindedness. For instance, most of them contain provisions requiring that all treaties, before they become valid, must be ratified by the national legislative bodies, thus emphasizing their place in the laws of the country. In the same way, most of these newly formed States remove the power of declaring war from the executive departments, and give it exclusively to the legislatures.

Furthermore, these new constitutions in defining the rights and duties of their national Supreme Courts usually state that the constitutionality of new laws must depend upon their



CELEBRATING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF ONE OF EUROPE'S NEW CONSTITUTIONS

The nearest figure on horseback is that of Thomas Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia. He is reviewing troops at Prague, the capital, ten years after the fall of the Austrian Empire permitted Czechoslovakia to assert its independence. Like other nations which succeeded the Hapsburg, Romanoff, and Hohenzollern monarchies, the Czech state wrote into the framework of its government a recognition of the validity of international law, lessening by that much the chances of another war.

agreement with international law and with treaty obligations, as well as upon their agreement with the constitutions themselves. They recognize also that agreements between nations are not statutes which can be changed at will, since they are equivalent to the constitutions in legal status.

M. Mirkine-Guetzvitch finds still more grounds for cheer. He quotes from the constitution of Germany: ". . . taking into consideration, so far as possible, the desires of the people concerned, the economic and cultural development of the citizens should be given preference to a maximum extent."

This is government for the people as well as of the people, a government based on the consent of the governed—which is something new for many Europeans. Government "loses its traditional character, becoming a social organization instead of a political régime, and thus abandons dynastic and historic traditions considered superior to law." While this does not bear specifically on war and peace, it is obviously of the utmost importance that Governments which are to enter into valid and lasting amicable relations with each other should be responsible to the people concerned, and not to themselves only.

A Three-year Horseback Ride

WITH widespread pampas and hard-riding cowboys, the Argentine Republic is famous for its horseflesh. Arab ancestors of its present horses arrived at Buenos Aires in 1536, in company with the Spanish Conquistadors, and, interbred with English thoroughbreds of later importation, they form today a sturdy stock—as European battlefields testified for four years.

Recently two of these steeds, called Mancha and Gato, carried their owner from Buenos Aires to Washington, D. C. It took three years and four months of steady journeying. The rider, referred to at home as the Argentine Centaur, is Senor Aimé Tschiffely. His exploit is described in *Argentina* by Lain Calvo.

Through the Argentine the going was comparatively easy, but Bolivia placed mighty mountains in his path. "Thus, between Potosí and Challapata, the bold rider climbed 18,000 feet in search of a passage, descending thereafter to the city of Cuzco, that mysterious city guarded by the shadow of Manco Capac." Then on to Lima, capital of Peru, over a road

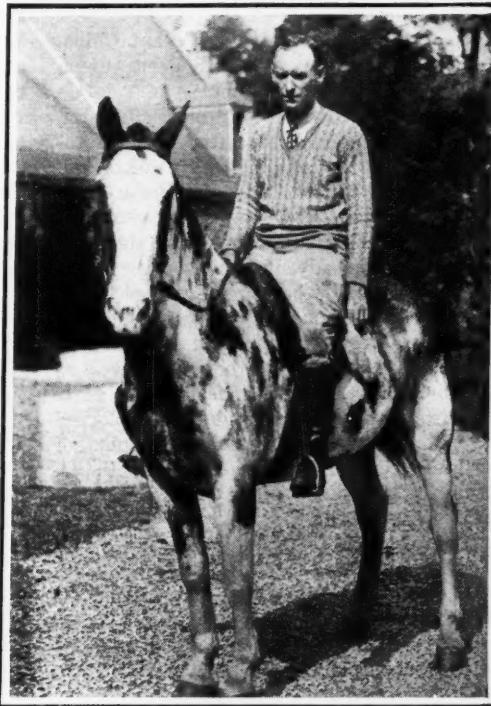
which brought more mountains to be climbed by the horses, which the owner rode alternately.

The traveling was hard through Central America, for here there were swamps, heavy rains, and insects to trouble the way. In Mexico City Senor Tschiffely was received with great acclaim, and comparatively soon thereafter he found himself on the smooth and well-paved roads of the United States. Washington celebrated his safe arrival, and New York received him as her special guest, and decorated him with the city's medal of honor.

Senor Tschiffely's journey took from April 23, 1925 until August 29, 1928.

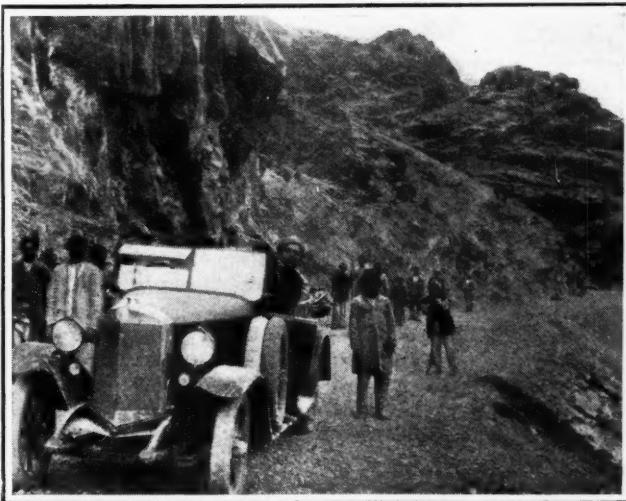
Peking to London by Automobile

MOTORING from China to England is an exploit not to be undertaken lightly. Yet it has its advantages. The trip was actually made by Capt. D. McCallum of the British Army, who, finding the troopship which took him out to China crowded and uncomfortable, decided to try motoring back home. He tells his tale in the *Trans-Pacific* of Tokyo.



THE ARGENTINE CENTAUR

Senor Aimé Tschiffely and one of the two horses which carried him from Buenos Aires north to Washington.



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

THE BEST MOTOR ROAD IN PERSIA'S MOUNTAINS

One of the new roads being built at the direction of Persia's new Shah, Reza. It was through country like this that Captain McCallum and his party drove.

"Siberia, the quickest way to London," he writes, "was barred to us, being Soviet territory, and, as an alternative, we decided to go northwest from Peking through Kalgan up on to the Mongolian plateau, and then strike southwest across the Gold Desert to join the old Imperial Silk Route . . . which runs into India." But this route too was closed, because of the Chinese civil war then in progress.

When finally the party was assembled—it consisted of the captain, his wife, and two friends—the trip began with a ride to Tientsin, thence taking ship to South China with the cars on board. From Haophong, South

China, the motorists proceeded down the east coast of Indo-China through Cochin China, Siam, Malaya, Burma, Kashmir, Persia, Syria, and Anatolia, to Constantinople.

Thence the route lay through Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Italy, and southern France, to Paris, and finally to London. The mileage totaled 15,000. Heat, cold, floods, gales, sand and snow storms were encountered in liberal measure along the way. In Bulgaria the adventurers even met with earthquakes, and "those who have never experienced an earthquake," comments Captain McCallum, "cannot appreciate the dreadful feeling of helplessness that the shocks give."

Indo-China the author remembers as a motorists' paradise, but dead camels blocked the path in the most precipitous spots of northeast Persia. Also there was the Indian northwest frontier "with the wild Afridi tribesmen picketing the rocky hills to assure our safe passage." In the Taurus Mountains a landslide had swept away the track along the edge of a precipice. "We were obliged to crawl along with the near-side wheels forced up on the slope of the mountain, and we sat in the cars holding our breath while they tilted over to an almost unbelievable angle."

On entering Turkey there was considerable difficulty convincing the customs authorities that a medicine chest did not contain dutiable liquors. A bottle of ginger-wine also caused grave argument, until the author applied a match to it. Since it did not catch fire, the disputed beverage was allowed to pass as non-alcoholic. "If the liquid caught fire I was to own myself defeated, but if, on the other hand, the light had no effect on it, they, the officials, were to believe my statement," writes Captain McCallum. "Then we proceeded into Turkey." The rest—barring the earthquake—was comparatively easy.

A Bid for Church Unity

RELIGIOUS traditions are notoriously tough and enduring. But once more an intimation has been given that, in time, the sectarian barriers which have separated the Protestant denominations of this country so long may be broken down.

It happened at the recent triennial General

Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Washington. There it was resolved that the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, both North and South, in this country, "be invited by the Church to appoint commissions to sit with a similar commission of General Convention in the consideration of matters of Christian morality, looking toward organic unity." Notice of this resolution appears in the three articles beginning on page 631 of this issue. What follows here is the appraisal of this bid for religious unity in the religious press.

The degrees of warmth with which this resolution was received were varied. One religious journal did not mention it in its columns, holding it to be so general as to mean practically nothing in so far as actual negotiations toward union were concerned. The editor of another, Frederic Cook Morehouse, approves the idea, but is not sure of concrete results. In the *Living Church*, an Episcopal paper, he writes:

"The phase seems so very obscure that I confess I don't know precisely what is meant. . . . Certainly we should be ready to enter into conference with any Christian people at any time; but unless some indication has been given that these bodies desire some conference with us, or unless some concrete purpose can really be obtained, I confess to feeling that officially invited conferences are a mistake, however useful voluntary conferences may be."

An editorial in the *Presbyterian Advance*, after pointing out that the Methodist Church has already suggested official committees to confer on closer relations with the Presbyterians, and that Presbyterians were therefore faced with two proposals looking toward unity, says:

"The objector will say—we have said it ourselves—that we can hardly hope for closer union with other denominations until members of the Presbyterian family have proved that they are really members of one family. That may be true so far as actual organic union is concerned."

But the editor, James E. Clarke, urges action nevertheless. He goes on to tell of a minister who had jotted down P. P. as an abbreviation, explaining that it stood for Presbyterian Principles. "Oh," remarked a friend, "I thought the letters stood for Persistent Procrastinators." Mr. Clarke asks, "Have we Presbyterians been earning that sort of a reputation with regard to church coöperation and union? . . . Why wait?"

Another Episcopal magazine, *The Churchman*, hails the resolution as a coming down to earth after a somewhat vague rejoicing in the spirit of last year's world-wide conference on unity.

"We rejoice that at last this Church proposes to do more than talk of its deep desire for unity," says its editorial, "exalting itself as the only fit medium for the union of Catholic and Protestant, but confessing to a congenital paralysis in all those limbs which might lead in the Protestant direction.

"A certain degree of unity with the Greeks has already been accomplished; and there are some who need not travel far to get to Rome. But we have tirelessly insisted that whatever the theoretical links may be which seem to unite us to the Greek Church and separate us from the Protestant sects, if we ask the practical clergyman or layman instead of the sequestered theological professor, he will confess that he finds himself less an alien among the Protestant ministers than among Greek priests and patriarchs."

Whatever may come of the resolution, *The Churchman* concludes, "it is worth a hundred vague declarations of exalted ideals."

Writing on the general question of church unity, and on the moves that have been made toward it, apart from the Episcopal proposal, an editorial writer of the *Christian Century* summarizes his views as follows:

"The great central fabric of Christendom, the body of sensible, devout, intelligent people who believe in the things that Jesus believed in and are interested in making the kind of world that he was interested in, find denominations a burden and a hindrance."

Reconstructing Religion

HERBERT PARRISH, an Episcopal clergyman whose writings in the national magazines inquire into the problems of the present-day church, sets forth in the *Atlantic Monthly* some principles by which he believes religious worship may be brought to meet the needs of the time.

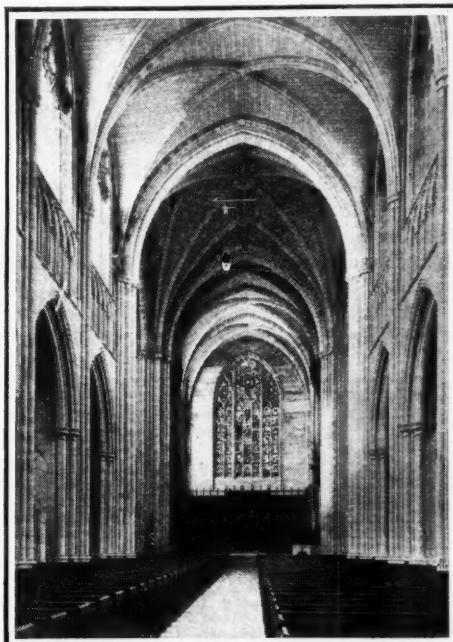
For most of us will agree, he believes, that the churches do not meet our present religious needs.

Mr. Parrish starts with the thesis that "The break-up of the old theological systems, and the old organizations of Protestantism, . . . has now reached a condition so advanced that men are already beginning to look forward to plans for reconstruction and ways for the salvage of such spiritual values as were held in the outworn institutions." He then undertakes to outline the path for the future.

Any complete Christian unity, he feels, is out of the question because of

both the Catholic and Protestant attitudes. The former is explained by an encyclical of Pius XI, the present Pope, which said in effect: "Let those who sincerely seek unity come unto me. Unity and peace will be found only in the acceptance of the authority of the Vicar of Christ."

As an example of the Protestant attitude toward Rome Mr. Parrish cites rejection of the proposed revision of the Book of Common Prayer by the British Parliament, because it contained a provision for the reservation of the Sacrament. This, says Mr. Parrish, shows that a large and influential portion of the



Photograph from *Architecture*

THE NEW CHAPEL AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

According to the Rev. Mr. Parrish this, like many other new churches, indicates a trend toward beauty in religion and away from the religious methods typified by the unadorned American meeting-house.

Protestant world has no mind to revert to anything remotely resembling Roman Catholicism.

Protestantism therefore is thrown upon its own resources. These are not few, particularly since Protestant scholars have, by their critical study of the Old and New Testaments during the last half century, "illuminated the dark places of religion and freed the human mind of vast superstitions and absurd propositions." Nevertheless, Protestantism needs two things: unity among its own churches, and a new technique of devotion.

"Constructive movements are already started for merging some of the larger denominations," writes Mr. Parrish. "Economically, in every sense of the word, such steps should be encouraged. But the problem of unity in the churches is more difficult even than the problem of unity in the State, inasmuch as the varieties of ideals and aims are more numerous and diversified. Unity can be accomplished only upon the basis of the lowest common denominator of agreement."

More essential than unity, in Mr. Parrish's eyes, is the new technique of devotion:

"One may still hear groups at prayer-meetings singing over and over again,

"Oh, how I love Jesus!
"Oh, how I love Jesus!
"Oh, how I love Jesus!
"The Savior of my soul!

"But groups at prayer-meetings are small in quality and quantity. Intelligent people keep away from prayer-meetings."

What the writer means by this is that, because the old methods of arousing religious emotions are played out, new ones must be found which will not alienate the modern man. "Protestantism addresses itself too much to the intellect and too little to the emotions. The sermon does something, but it does not do enough. It does not sufficiently reach the imagination and draw the charm of beauty."

Already the movement toward this end can be noticed in the architecture of the new churches. At the same time there is an increase in the liturgical service. "The long extempore prayers, in which the events of the week were rehearsed for the edification of God and the boredom of the congregation, are giving way to a more dignified, simple, and Catholic manner of approach to the Deity."

So it is in many of the details of Protestant worship. And if Protestants object that this is walking a little too close to Rome, they will find that the movement goes on none the less.

Prosperity for Poets

AMERICAN poetry has a distinguished history, and in these days of growing popular interest in the arts critics look for poems in keeping with the past. But the general opinion seems to be that current poetry lacks significance; that, with few exceptions, it has fallen flat. The difficulty, according to an anonymous poet who writes in the *Sewanee Review*, is a lack of cash returns. In an article called "What Every Poet Knows" he writes:

"If America wants poets, America must reward them in the same manner as she rewards the workers in other fields of art, as in fact she is already rewarding her journalists and novelists and playwrights." Writing poetry is not a paying business, for "If there is in America to-day one poet worthy the name who is able to

make a living solely by the practise of his art, I have yet to hear of him."

According to this poet the fault lies in the attitude of editors and publishers. He asserts that practically no anthologists pay authors



STEPHEN VINCENT BENET

Whose poem, "John Brown's Body," is one of the few recent American works in verse to achieve popular success.

for the poetry they use, and that they take their material from magazines and newspapers which for the large part pay nothing when accepting a poem for publication. A few only of the best magazines pay money for contributions; the others offer the poet fame instead. The writer quotes from letters he received from editors to whom he had submitted verse:

" . . . my aims are to help the writer on to higher things than dollars"; and again, "If you want to sell your verses, I'll return them to you; otherwise, I'll use them."

The anonymous poet goes on to accuse editors not only of being niggardly but of demanding a type of poetry to which the critics object. "For the past twenty years," he writes, "poets have been producing the blatant, the silly, and the bizarre. . . . They had to be 'original.' They had to produce verses suitable to accompany advertisements for soap and perfumery and smoking tobacco."

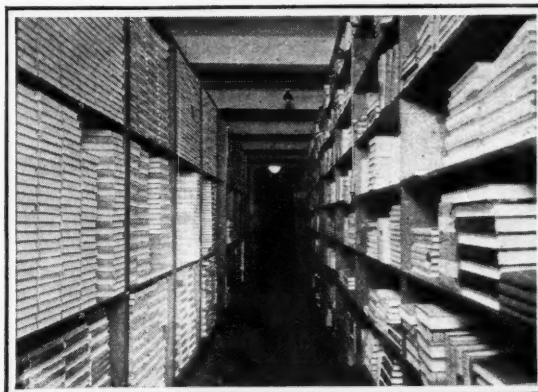
There is something to be said for the publisher, however, for poetry is hardly more profitable to him than to the poet. Byron and Scott made huge sums for their publishers, but these two were exceptions. Most of the other famous poets managed to carry on because they had independent means, otherwise they could never have afforded to become celebrities.

Many Books, Little Literature

AND further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end."

It is The Preacher who speaks, the author of Ecclesiastes. His words, though written perhaps thirty centuries ago, form a suitable text for two current comments on the making of books. And what these comments have to say might well be expressed through those other words of his, namely, All is vanity.

In the *Commonweal* Lincoln MacVeagh, the publisher and critic, declares that by flooding the country with books today publishers are not serving literature. He points his argument by quoting a publisher as saying to a young aspirant for an editorial position, "Get it out



READY TO MEET THE DEMAND FOR BOOKS

A small section of the stock room of the Baker & Taylor Co., wholesale booksellers, in New York City. To keep up with the reading appetite of the American public this firm alone maintains an average stock of 750,000 volumes.

of your head that publishing has anything to do with literature. It hasn't. You will be nearer literature at home than in the office."

The patron of literature is not the publisher, according to Mr. MacVeagh, but the public; "and the value of the publisher's service to literature must therefore be measured by the value to literature of this new patron, a value I estimate to be nil or less."

Mr. MacVeagh goes on to say that literature is a spontaneous activity of man, and its own justification, while "publishing is an activity which has but a short history and no excuse save as a means to an end. But can anyone say that more and better publishing means more and better literature? I think not. More, undoubtedly, but better, hardly."

In the light of this estimate it is interesting to note an editorial in the *Nation*, prompted by E. Haldeman-Julius's book "The First Hundred Million." This title is derived from the number of the Little Blue Books Mr. Haldeman-Julius has sold in the last ten years. These little books contained the classics of all ages; but, says the *Nation*:

"Every book that failed to sell the required 10,000 a year was sent to a 'hospital' where its defects (commercial, not literary) were analyzed and doctored. . . . The classics must be sold—that is the purpose of the enterprise. But what classics, under what titles, and by what methods—that was for the public to say."

The hospital treatment, according to the *Nation*, was based on appeals to the public

taste which had been found sure. "In general people have a passion to read about three things: sex, self-improvement, and what may vaguely be called 'daring' attacks upon respectability, especially religion."

Thus under its original title "The King Enjoys Himself," Victor Hugo's play sold 8,000 copies in one year. The next year, under the title "The Lustful King Enjoys Himself," 38,000 copies were sold. To meet the self-improvement desire, Schopenhauer's "Art of Controversy" and De Quincey's "Essay on Conversation" were changed to "How to Argue Logically" and "How to Improve Your Conversation"—with sales leaping up thereafter.

The *Nation* gives as Mr. Haldeman-Julius's defense for these changes in title the fact that the text of the books was always authentic.

Fraternities

THE Greek-letter fraternity is a unique institution in American college life—one that is sometimes disparaged by educators and by those who have failed of access to the ranks. Yet it serves its purposes adequately, according to Dean Max McConn of Lehigh University.

"Fundamentally the local chapters of the Greek-letter fraternities are what college officers call living groups," writes Dean McConn in the *North American Review*. "As such they are classified with the college dormitories. In effect, indeed, the chapter houses constitute important additions to the dormitory facilities. From one-third to two-thirds of the total en-

rolment may be housed in this way. These houses constitute one of the gifts which these modern Greeks have brought to the colleges."

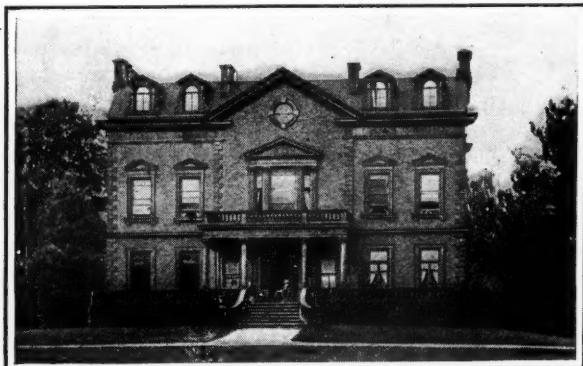
But the fraternities are selective, and in choosing their members money, family, preparatory school, and personal qualities are taken into consideration. Scholarship is not neglected within their hallowed halls; freshmen are frequently compelled to stay in four nights each week; and athletes are carefully watched lest they become ineligible through low marks.

"Occasionally there is a group which strives to win the scholarship cup or other trophy which is often offered to the fraternity having the highest scholarship average," adds the Dean. "But it is the consensus of opinion among the fraternities that such distinction is pale and of little real importance to the chapter which attains it. In every fraternity house I ever visited the whole atmosphere and spirit was definitely non-intellectual."

Fraternity men are far from idle, nevertheless, for they have numberless student activities to keep them busy when they have finished (perhaps perfunctorily) their scholastic duties. These outside activities are educational to a high degree. At least mature business men continue to believe in them and to encourage their sons to indulge in them while at college. "Personally," says Dean McConn, "I have become convinced that they are right, that their claims are sound, and that their choice is justified." But that is not the whole story:

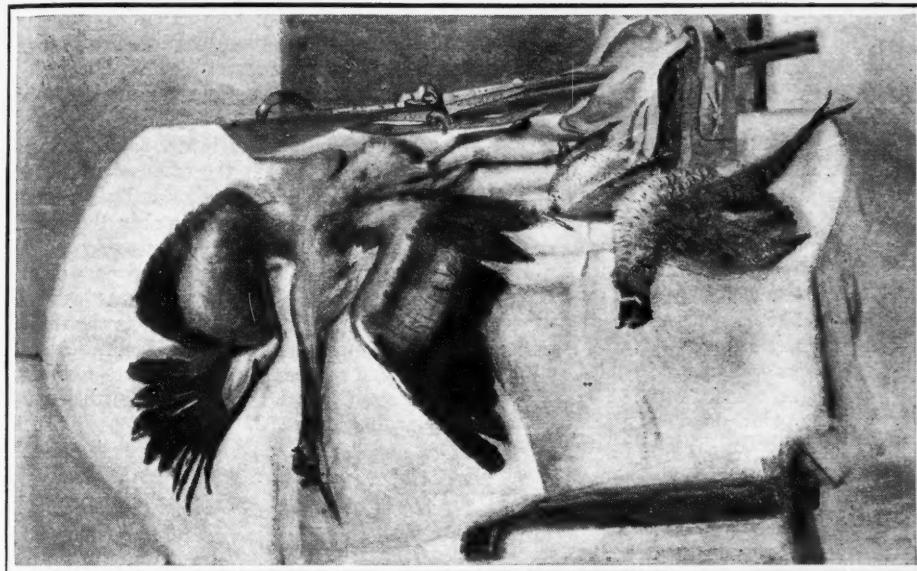
"Obviously . . . these students with their self-devised course of training, consisting of outside activities, stand for a conception of higher education quite different from the traditional idea with which the curriculum and the labors of professors are associated." Book learning was the only aim of colleges traditionally, but within the past forty years American colleges have been invaded by the whole population, and it would not be desirable that so large a proportion of our people should be bookishly inclined. For there is no worthwhile training to be derived from books or studies unless such things keenly absorb you.

The undergraduates of to-day have seized upon the rudimentary outside activities to be found in



A COLLEGE FRATERNITY HOUSE

The home of the Sigma Phi Fraternity at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. Although fraternities are often criticized by educators, Dean Max McConn of Lehigh University has undertaken to defend them.



STILL LIFE, BY ANDRE DERAIN

This painting won the first prize of \$1,500 at the recent International Exhibition at Pittsburgh.

the colleges of forty years ago, and have developed them into important factors in the campus life. "And the fraternities, though not solely responsible for this development, became in fact—because they were such convenient organized centers to work from—their most efficient promoters and deserve the greater part of the credit." They are the stronghold of the new majority education.

"It is largely through the efforts," concludes Dean McConn, "that our colleges are now devoted predominantly to the democratic object of training practical business men, rather than to the mere advancement of learning and what used to be 'culture' among a few who happen to be intellectually gifted."

Pictures Old and New

ART changes no faster than a country's point of view, and a nation's individuality is portrayed definitely in its pictures. American painting is objective and optimistic, turning outward rather than to introspection. English art is complacent and contented, without eccentricity or fadism. But French art is

uneasy, as is the French mind to-day, bizarre in effects—mere emotion presented in pigment and unsuited to hanging on walls year in and year out. The Italians, on the other hand, have become highly rationalistic, ignoring the spiritual and dealing with actualities in highly prosaic Fascist style.

These at least are the moods presented by the various nations exhibiting at the 1928 International Exhibition at Pittsburgh. Of this great gathering of pictures Homer Saint-Gaudens, art critic and son of the famous sculptor, writes in the *Carnegie Magazine*:

"Our attempt is to bring together the best examples of each nation's pictures, with favor toward none. If, with this as our ambition, we can cause the International to transcend the 'pretty' picture and become a mirror reflecting to our land at large, through Pittsburgh's efforts, what is art in the eyes of the world as it exists to-day, we shall accomplish a mission of which we shall be greatly proud. This is our point of view in organizing the Exhibition."

It is hard to convince the public that the best picture is not the most popular picture, yet this is often true in painting, as in all the arts. "Paintings are designed to fulfill different functions," writes Mr. Saint-Gaudens. "A paint-

ing can hang on a wall for sheer decorative beauty. . . . It can have the charm of a touch of sentiment. It can tell a story. It can satisfy our longing to look at a pretty girl. It can amuse a group purely as an abstract stunt. It can convey what certain observers consider as an essay on life."

Artists now fall into two main classes, the academic and the advanced or radical school. To the latter the academic are dull and unimaginative plodders; to the former the radicals are charlatans trying to advertise anything new. These modernists have broken down the barriers of precedent, while the conservatives stress workmanship and tradition and beauty in accordance with the facts of life.

The visiting public divides itself into followers of the two schools, calling pictures either slushily sentimental or unpleasantly fantastic according to its bias. If a picture fails in its appeal to a layman, the artist was doubtless intending it for some other layman of different predilections. Also the setting, the type of furniture and interior decoration into which a picture is introduced, has much to do with whether the modern or the traditional painting appears to greater advantage.

First prize at the exhibition went to a still

life of game birds by André Derain. Another still life, flowers this time, by Pedro Pruna, took second prize; and a street scene in Greenwich Village, by Glenn O. Coleman, received the third prize.

"This exhibition," says Mr. Saint-Gaudens in conclusion, "pleads the cause of no school to the extinction of another. The modern enthusiasts would have nothing but the latest. If we listened to them only, we would produce an engine that was all steam and no brakes, with catastrophe ahead. The academician is for caution; for him the brake is the thing. If we followed his advice, we would have all brakes and no steam, and our engine would not move at all. Both are right within their particular limitations."

The End of a Golden Age

MOST AMERICANS know that during the war and post-war years the United States acquired a hoard of gold; but comparatively few realize that during 1928 we have sent abroad \$5,000,000,000 of that hoard. Roughly this is one-ninth our total stock. Once only has there been a comparable loss—in 1919 and 1920, and that was speedily made up by a return flow of gold. It seems likely now, however, that the present export will prove relatively permanent.

If so, writes Col. Leonard P. Ayres in the *American Bankers' Association Journal*, "the year 1928 may well turn out to be the end of one economic era in this country, and the beginning of another."

"The era which it will bring to a close will be the fourteen-year period from the outbreak of the World War up to this present year, which has been for the most part a time of great credit expansion based on huge gold imports. No one can foresee what the next few years will be like in a business way, but it is safe to say that they will be very different from those that are just behind us."

Colonel Ayres, vice-president of the Cleveland Trust Company, is one of the country's recognized financial authorities. He finds that the huge stock of gold which the country has enjoyed has had a vital part in making our prosperity. When an importation of gold enters the country, he explains, it is credited



BARRELS OF GOLD

Eleven million dollars in \$20 gold pieces, stored in the hold of the *S.S. Pan American* for shipment to Brazil. Exports of about \$5,000,000,000 of America's gold supply during 1928 are expected to mark the end of a period of gold inflow to this country that has lasted fourteen years.

to the reserves of the importing commercial bank.

The bank can then increase its loans, and "very shortly each newly arrived dollar of gold has brought into existence ten dollars or more of that new credit which we commonly refer to as money. . . . Moreover, since bank loans and investments are considerably larger in amount than bank deposits, the arrival of each new dollar of gold has meant that bank credit in use has promptly expanded by about twelve dollars."

Unfortunately the reverse is also true; for the experiences of 1920 and 1921 showed that every time a dollar of gold was exported, someone shortly thereafter had about eight dollars less in his bank deposit than he had before. "The expansion of bank credit through gold imports is pleasant, and produces contentment," observes Colonel Ayres. "Its contraction following gold exports is painful, and results in discontent."

It now seems probable that the country is entering a new era in which gold imports and exports will be smaller than those of the years since 1914. They give promise of coming from the normal transactions of international trade, instead of from the collapse and rehabilitation of the fiscal systems of foreign nations. Future exports and imports of gold may be expected to counterbalance each other more nearly than in the past.

"During the past fourteen years this country has enjoyed a redundant credit supply such as no other country ever had," declares Colonel Ayres. "We have been able to finance simultaneously a business boom, a building boom, a Florida boom, and a stock market boom without the slightest trace of a credit stringency. . . . Now at long last all this has changed, but the transition to a new and more sober era is not going to be easy."

Dr. Klein Surveys the Economic World

THE war had no patience with picturesque antiquity. It wiped out with remorseless strokes the old-fashioned ways, and commandeered the efforts even of pretty cigaret girls in neutral Spain." So writes Dr. Julius Klein in reviewing the business, industrial and financial developments of the world



DR. JULIUS KLEIN

Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in the United States Department of Commerce.

in the ten years since the Armistice. Dr. Klein, director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington, who grew to prominence as Mr. Hoover's right-hand man in the Department of Commerce, finds that the war was more than just a war. It started something:

"The triumphs of aeronautics, and of the radio, of wireless telephony and electrified traffic, of automotive transport and synthetic chemistry, found their origins very largely in the truly dazzling succession of experiments and widespread frantic efforts under the grave pressure of wartime necessity." Piano boxes are now transformed into rayon hosiery, fertilizer is extracted from the air, gasoline from shale, and rubber from hitherto ignored shrubs—almost anything seems possible now.

Although there was a notable slump in production following the great conflict, the 1913 level of production has been reached once again and in many ways surpassed. The world's developed water-power has jumped from 23,000,000 horsepower in 1920 to 33,000,000 horsepower in 1926. So it is all along the line. Where in 1922 we exported 14,000,000 cases of

grapefruit to England, the total last year exceeded 417,000,000 cases.

The record of success, however, does not extend to all fields. The fuel, iron and steel, and shipbuilding industries have gone through trying times since the war, for there has been a shift from coal to oil and hydroelectric power. Also Diesel marine engines, widely used in the German and Italian merchant navies, have revolutionized ocean travel to the consequent dislocation of much tonnage.

But other industries, stimulated by war, have grown amazingly to supplant the damaged ones—electrical engineering, motor and rubber industries, tobacco products, chemicals and the newer types of fabrics. All in all, the benefits of this change and expansion have accrued to the United States. "Europe's days of supremacy in the field of industrial production is on the wane so far at least as sheer predominance in volume is concerned," writes Dr. Klein. "She will undoubtedly continue to excel in many lines of fine specialties, those products of her ancient crafts whose age-long skill and artistic dexterity date back to the Middle Ages."

Geographical changes following the war

caused Germany to lose 76 per cent. of her sources of iron ore, while the iron industry of the old Austrian Empire has been split up among the Succession States. "The leading nation in the field of foreign trade in this major staple is France, due largely to the great acquisition she has made in iron and steel-producing territory through the treaties of peace. She is followed in succession by Germany, Great Britain, and Belgium-Luxembourg."

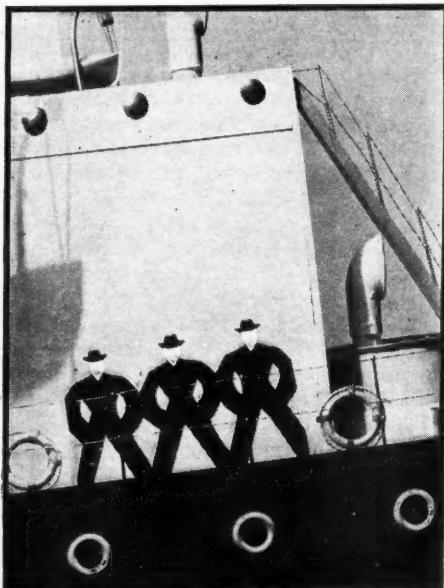
If America has benefited most, Europe has not been neglected entirely, for standardization has been an important phase of European industrial development since the war. The old individualism of the various manufacturing plants, making impossible any interchange of parts, has been modified or even destroyed. International cartels have been formed for the interchange of patent rights, expert personnel, and other important elements of production.

The Globe-Trotting Trade

TRAVELING has become not only a great American amusement, but a great American industry as well. Its annual bill amounts to \$650,000,000 per year. Three hundred thousand Americans cross the Atlantic every year, while 500,000 tourists visit the Province of Quebec. A million more flock to Florida each winter, and California figures on 500,000 tourists. Travel magazines circulate more widely each month.

Of such astonishing figures does Henry Eckhardt weave a tale in *Advertising and Selling*. Says he: "Probably no large industry attains such dizzy peaks, or drops into such sickening valleys as travel. Are you crossing to Europe in June? You had better reserve in January. Are you crossing in September? You can have the ship." Summer vacation travel begins on July 1 and reaches its peak in August, subsiding after Labor Day.

Sporting events, festivals, historic celebrations, expositions, and passion plays bring in the travelers when they are wanted. Through winter sports Chateau Frontenac, at Quebec, has created a season two and a half months long. But Asbury Park holds its Baby Parade in busy August, while New Orleans runs off the Mardi Gras in February, the biggest Southern month. Such management, Mr. Eckhardt believes, wastes golden opportunities for increased travel to these points during the



Photograph by Anton Bruehl for Weber & Heilbronner

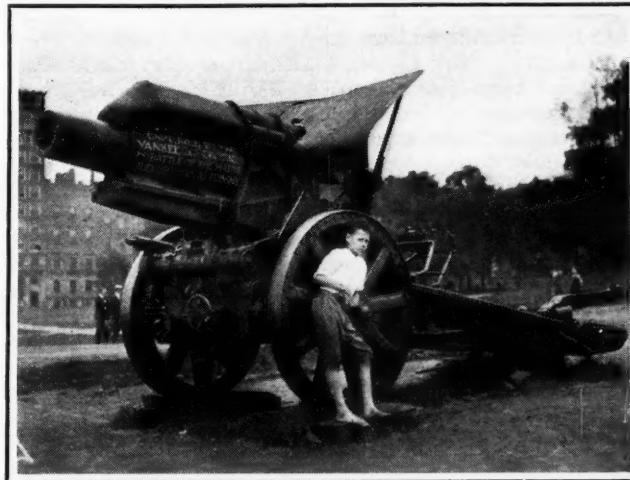
AN APPEAL TO THE TRAVEL MARKET

A clothing advertisement which seeks to capitalize the seasonal interest in travel.

season which is normally slack.

The vast migrations of traveling Americans hold a meaning for those business men who can profit by it. It is this group that Mr. Eckhardt addresses, though his remarks have a certain financial interest for the man who foots the bill—the traveler himself.

"The development of any new season usually opens a new market," he writes. "Thus the crowd that comes for January winter sports is not the crowd that comes for August. And the crowd that flocks for a golf tournament is not the crowd that stays for the rocking-chair sessions. Choose well your special events and your new seasons, and you choose your new markets."



© Underwood & Underwood

A GRIM REMINDER OF WAR

This huge gun, captured by the 26th Division in the second battle of the Marne, was placed on exhibition on the Boston Common.

Effacing What's Left of the War

IS THERE anything uglier in form or in suggestion than the captured cannon of the World War which are exhibited as trophies in so many public places in England and America? It will be a joy to many who have shared that feeling to learn that there is a movement in England to scrap these monsters."

This is the comment of an editorial in the *Christian Advocate*, which deplores such military manifestations. The editorial adds, "A village common with a memorial cross in the center is a delight to the eye and a solemn reminder of noble sacrifice." The American Legion might have something to say on the subject, and possibly, with the modesty characteristic of fighters, its members would advocate removal of Krupp "77's" and such paraphernalia. "On the other hand, if the suggestion should come from some kindly soul whose name is on the blacklist of the 'blue menace,' there would not be much chance for it."

On the same subject the English *Manchester Guardian* offers this comment: "The other

day a local council decided that a gun displayed in a public place as a trophy of the war should be broken up and flung on the scrap-heap. The Mayor of Southwark is raising the same question on a larger scale. He thinks it is bad for the younger generation who have no personal knowledge of war to get used to these trophies of victory, and that their retention is unworthy of the Locarno Treaty, the Kellogg Pact, and the general movement toward peace."

America's Habit of Lawlessness

FOR a dozen years leaders of the legal profession, social workers, and laymen have looked with justified alarm on the spectacle of single American cities indulging in more crime a year than all the people of Great Britain. Crime commissions sit, and clean-up campaigns come and go. But every American city remains a dangerous place by day and by night. Violence, hold-ups, murders—in gambling districts, in silk stocking areas, on the grounds of great universities, and in the shadow of cathedrals.

What is the cause? Is there no remedy? William E. Dodd, professor of history and writer, asks these questions in the *Century*.

Here as elsewhere history repeats itself, Professor Dodd believes, for lawlessness in America is nothing new. Our ancestors fled from restraint and came to an unfettered wilderness. These pioneers seized Indian lands against the advice of the British government, and thus made enemies of the savages. British limitations on ocean trade were evaded "from the day when tobacco became a valuable commodity."

Smuggling was quite in order, both in Virginia and in Massachusetts. Samuel Adams, James Otis, and John Hancock made great names in the business—those saints of New England tradition. And after the young republic was finally established, "the Westerners had their lands for which they did not pay. The Easterners carried their flag, when they did not raise the flags of other nations, into every sea. It was young, ruthless America, flouting the law."

Then came the slavery question. Slavery was forbidden in the Northwest in 1787, yet slaves were taken there by immigrants from Virginia and Kentucky. In 1807 an anti-slave-trade law was passed to forbid the importation of African negroes into the United States. The law was disregarded and "every year after 1807 there were more slaves imported from Africa than the average in the years before."

Then came the fugitive slave law of 1850, violated consistently by Northerners eager to aid escaping blacks at all costs. Says the writer: "The result was war, one of the most devastating and needless wars in history—a consequence of long habits of lawlessness, and contempt of the expressed will of the majority."

The war settled nothing, says Mr. Dodd, and the Negro was enfranchised without consent of the Southern whites. There resulted endless violence and brawling within the South, and the Negroes except for a brief period have never voted there to this day. Twenty years after the close of the war the South was still united in its violation of the Constitution's Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. In the same period there were Jay Gould, Commodore Vanderbilt, and Daniel Drew, who outdid each other in shady railroad deals and such negotiations. And "if railroad speculators might violate laws they did not like, political organizations such as Tammany Hall and the Albany Gang might do as much"—not to speak of the gangs in many other states as well.

"In 1893 the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was

enacted by overwhelming majorities with penalties drastic enough. . . . But in this case as in others, powerful men refused to obey the law; and the measure was not enforced. The first attorney-general who was supposed to apply the law was himself a recent counselor of the corporations he must dissolve." Once more we find Americans—substantial business men—evading the law.

By 1900 the cities were rampant with vice in the form of saloons, red light districts, and gun-carrying desperadoes. "The United States was preparing schools of crime for her young." Conditions were such that the Methodists and Baptists were striving to combat them by holding revivals of the shouting type. "Ten Nights in a Barroom" was the rage, displayed by pictures in cheap theaters, and Rip Van Winkle was used as anti-liquor propaganda.

Prohibition was finding a place in Kansas and in New England, as it had in the South, which was anxious to keep intoxicants away from the colored race. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union took on new life, and great business concerns came to uphold sobriety. The United States Navy and the railroads took it up, and finally in 1919 the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, to be followed closely by the Volstead Act.

"Men who had liked their drinks all their lives laid in supplies; cellars were enlarged and the demand for bottles and kegs was steady. . . . Prohibition was for the good of the working people," who were undoubtedly benefiting by the measure. Men began to speak of their bootleggers as they had formerly mentioned butlers and footmen, while to get drunk was a sign of gentility and independence.

The immigrant populations of the cities were law-abiding, continues Mr. Dodd, but they were accustomed to alcohol, and from reading our great dailies soon learned that disobedience to law is fashionable in America. They formed gangs by nationalities and became gunmen to such a point that life in large cities has become somewhat precarious. Prohibition, immigration, and the breakdown of our judicial system are all blamed for this state of affairs. But as Professor Dodd sees it, "there has been a habit of lawlessness in the United States from the earliest days, a habit which has influenced immigrants on their arrival, which has warped the minds of the young, which has swayed the officers of the law, and which gravely threatens the existing social order."

The Leaping Tarpon

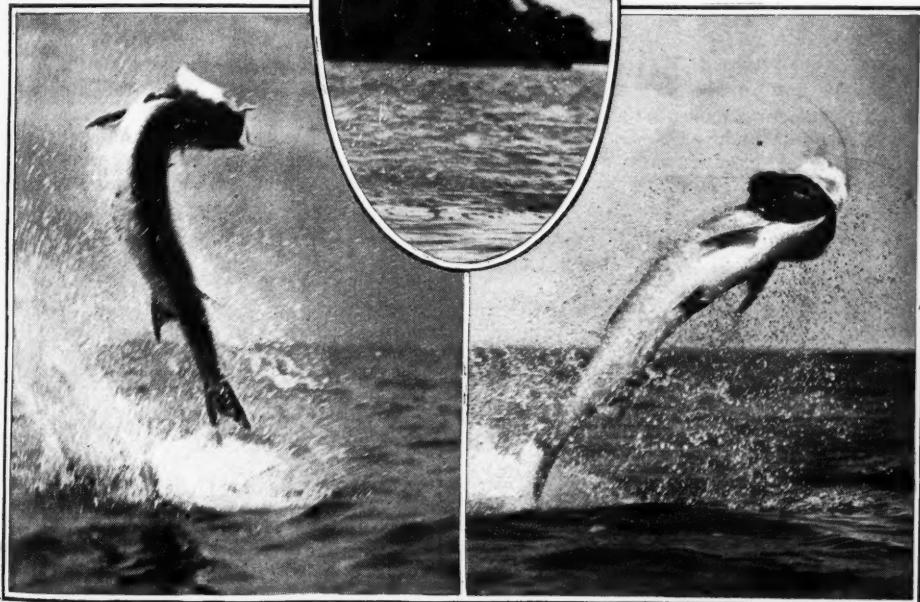
OF ALL sporting fishes the tarpon is the leader. A born fighter and a real problem to the aspiring fisherman, the conquest of such a monster of the deep is a proud boast among the habitués of the Florida resorts. "His stuffed skin adorns the walls of countless clubs and sportsmen's retreats and his portrait in oils has graced the cover of many a magazine," writes Van Campen Heilner, field representative of the American Museum of Natural History, in *Natural History*.

The tarpon belongs to the herring tribe, and ranges from Long Island to Brazil. He is inferior as a dish for the table, but the sportsmen of Florida, Texas, Mexico, and the Panama Canal Zone care little for that and tussle with him assiduously. He is hooked either by trolling or by still fishing, and the writer states that he has even caught young tarpon on salmon flies. "The instant the fish feels the barb he rushes to the surface and hurls himself into the air in an amazing and sensational series of leaps in a frequently successful effort to free himself. So violent and furious are these

jumps that the fish soon exhausts himself and, if he has not broken loose, can be soon brought to boat."

In Florida the best tarpon fishing occurs in May and June. The fish spawn somewhere in the Caribbean, the majority of grown specimens running from thirty to eighty pounds in weight. Mr. Heilner concludes: "If you are one who loves angling, pack your tackle and make your plans next spring to slip down the coast to Florida or Texas or Panama, or to countless other places that fringe the Caribbean, and try your mettle on one of the grandest of God's gifts to fishermen, that molten ball of flashing, gleaming silver, that master of aerial acrobatics, the leaping tarpon."

Mr. Heilner thus describes his first capture: "A moonlight night, the ghostly arches of the viaduct, the put-put of the tiny launch that carried me crosswise to the rushing tide; then the strike, and the flash of silver, dripping diamonds of spray from its flanks, that catapulted itself into the air again and again, and yet again. Many have been the tarpon that have leaped at the end of my line, but that one can never be erased from my memory."



Photographs from American Museum of Natural History

THE LEAPING TARPOON OF FLORIDA

As Stated

ON A BUSINESS BASIS

Europe on the whole has arrived at a state of financial stability and prosperity where it cannot be said we are called on to help or act much beyond a strict business basis. The needs of our own people require that any further advances by us must have most careful consideration.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, in his *Armistice Day Address*.

ROYALTY MAKING MERRY

While King George hunts grouse with an enthusiasm which age cannot lessen, Queen Mary as guest of the hostesses of Scotland gives herself up to her favorite pastime—the dance. In her honor dances are everywhere organized at which her youthfulness and extraordinary resistance to fatigue are greatly admired. The King of England does not dance. But he admires dancing and often rests in the evenings while he watches the dancers.

Editorial, in *Le Cri de Paris*.

“THE CAPTAINS AND THE KINGS DEPART”

I have had a few satisfactions. For example, in 1907, the German Kaiser barred a book of mine in which I told the truth about him; and I have enjoyed seeing him move to Holland. I have seen one tsar, a sultan, and three emperors move on; and I expect to have more of this sort of fun before I die.

UPTON SINCLAIR, in the *New Masses*.

BRITTANIA'S RULING INTELLECT

One must remember that the English mind, in all its complexities, is much more difficult to understand than that of any other nation. The English are a reticent people; they do not easily reveal their emotions. To discern their third dimension requires much time and long intimacy.

ANDRE MAUROIS, in the *Forum*.

THE RED IN THE REICHSBANNER

We are accustomed to see the German Government blow now hot now cold to Soviet Russia, as the whims of western chancellories dictate. But official Germany and the German proletariat are two distinct entities. The latter has pretty definitely cast in its lot with the new social economics, and if you wish to see Communism at work outside the U. S. S. R., you cannot do better than go to Berlin.

FELIX WALTER, in the *Queen's Quarterly* of Kingston, Ontario.

OUR VIRILE SCREEN LIFE

Life seems enviable in motion-pictures from across the ocean. Men are depicted as more than animal in strength and vigor. Life is pervaded with great open spaces. The secret desire of all beings is realized: liberty, movement, expansion through a sort of unlimited fulness.

JEANNE, in the *Revue de Genève*.

BUSINESS—THAT'S ALL

An interesting feature of the anti-Japanese boycott in South China is that there is hardly any hatred on the part of the Chinese for the Japanese. Moreover, the Japanese in general have no ill-feeling toward the Chinese. Both sides realize the economic nature of the boycott.

J. A. J., in the *China Weekly Review*.

SUPREME SARCASM

The usefulness of a campaign against the stage is exactly the same as that which the thief in public office conducts against the Bolsheviks or members of the Klan against the Roman Catholic Church. Who can doubt the rectitude of a man who stands up for Pure Womanhood? Who can doubt the efficiency of a police force which swoops down so crushingly upon allegedly reprehensible actors?

Editorial, in the *Nation*.

WHO WON ANYWAY?

There are thousands of spectators who buy the newspaper on the morning after the football game to find out what happened.

JOHN W. HEISMAN, football coach, in *Colliers*.

BIG-HEARTED CAVALIERS

People who follow the horses are among the most sentimental in the world. This is rather difficult to believe from a glance at their rather hard-boiled exteriors, but you only have to understand the workings of the hearts behind some of the gaudy waistcoats.

ELIZABETH M. GRINNELL, in the *Sportsman*.

“SOZIALEMOKRATISCH”

If Hermann Müller had not been discharged from his first job when he asked for higher wages, he might never have become a Socialist; and, if he had not faced hard work and duty to Party so courageously, he would surely never have become Chancellor of the German Reich.

Editorial, in the *Living Age*.

A LIVING SACRIFICE

The arrival of the *Graf Zeppelin* in New York seems to have established no little international amity where there was some slight strain a few years back, if I recall correctly. This gives me an idea if I can get the man who must make the sacrifice to go through with it.

My idea is to pump Big Bill Edwards, of Princeton, full of helium gas, place some propellers in the proper positions and sail him over the Harvard grounds as a message of good-will.

W. O. McGEEHAN, in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

LADIES FIRST, LAST, AND ALWAYS

In Russia the woman is no longer made to feel that she needs or merits a distinct kind of social treatment. There are no clubs exclusively for men unless it be in walks of life that women do not care to enter. Even in the sporting organizations the membership is mixed. There are nowhere in Russia hotels exclusively for men or for women or restaurants with signs “tables specially reserved for ladies.”

MAURICE HINDUS, in *Asia*.

Biography, American Style

LAST month the first volume of the "Dictionary of American Biography" was published by the house of Scribner in New York City.¹ This announcement may mean much or little to the reader, according to his or her point of view. To the publishers, the editors, and the 300 contributors represented in this first volume of twenty, it means a great deal. "But," we seem to hear someone gently interpose, "were there really 300 contributors to this one volume?" Indeed, we reply, this is no publisher's "blurb." The list of names on pages IX-XI quickly settles the question. There are the fifteen score of writers who accept responsibility for the 600-odd biographies from Abbé to Barrymore. It must be understood that this is a coöperative work in the fullest sense. The more you see of it the more clearly you will perceive that such a work could not possibly have been carried forward save by the coöperation of many minds. There have been biographical dictionaries and cyclopedias before now, but with the exception of a few outstanding foreign undertakings of national scope, nothing comparable with this new "Dictionary" has ever been attempted.

American scholars had dreamed of such an enterprise, but the man who five years ago translated the dreams into a definite project and then nursed the project into a "going concern," was Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, long director of historical research for the Carnegie Institution, managing editor of the *American Historical Review*, and now a member of the Library of Congress staff. He brought about the formation of the Council of Learned Societies, secured the adoption of a plan, and enlisted the interest of Mr. Adolph Ochs of the *New York Times*. It was estimated that the preparation of the manuscript and the necessary editorial work would call for the expenditure of \$500,000. Mr. Ochs declared his readiness to contribute \$50,000 annually for ten years. This generous gift made it possible to begin and an editor was found in the person of Dr.

Allen Johnson, who resigned the professorship of American History at Yale in order to give his whole time to the "Dictionary." Most of the year 1926 was spent in the collection of names. The writing of articles in alphabetical order has proceeded during the past two years and has reached the letter H. In the twenty volumes to be issued before 1935 at least 15,000 articles will be included.

The volume now published, containing all of A and a part of B, is fairly indicative of the range and variety that may be expected in the entire set. A glance will suffice to convince any searcher for biographical data that he may find here material such as he has never encountered in any American dictionary or cyclopedia. "Pop" Anson, the Chicago baseball hero of the last generation, and Barnum the showman occupy one column and four and one-half columns, respectively, and the space is well used. Both articles afford entertainment plus information. If the word "dictionary" has seemed formidable in the past, one forgets that objection while reading the fresh and informal statements of fact that abound in these articles. The man or woman who shall start reading the twenty volumes through from A to Z will not incur any serious risk of boredom. On the contrary, if we are not greatly mistaken, a varied and stimulating series of American personalities will be thrown on the screen.

The expansive features of the Dictionary's plan are well illustrated by the articles on men of affairs, industrialists, inventors, engineers, railroad builders, financiers, producers and organizers of every type. The editors and contributors are taking unusual pains to have such men well represented, even though many of them may have been almost forgotten in these hurried times. This is a phase of American history that certainly deserves more thorough study than has been devoted to it in the past. Moreover, there is dramatic interest in the lives of such leaders. They make "good copy" and the Dictionary's first volume bears evidence that the writers and editors know how to make such material interesting to the reader of to-day.

¹ Dictionary of American Biography: Vol. I, Abbé-Barrymore. Edited by Allen Johnson. Charles Scribner's Sons. 671 pp. (rag paper).

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